

THE FIRST DECADE

August 15, 1947—August 15, 1957

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A SYMPOSIUM
Commemorating the Tenth Anniversary
of Indian Independence

Edited by
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With a Preface by
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Preface

I have read the chapters in this volume with profit and with new appreciation of India's progress during the years since Independence

In thinking of the tremendous problems which faced the new Indian nation just ten short years ago and then recalling the courage, the energy and the vision with which it rose to meet them, one must be filled with admiration at the amazing resilience to the cruel shocks accompanying partition, at the speed with which comprehensive, constructive programmes for economic and social development were conceived, at the enthusiasm and determination with which these nation-building activities are being carried forward

It has been my country's privilege to work as a partner in many undertakings which have been a part of this great adventure on which India is embarked

I am glad that the United States Information Service has been able to record a part of this story as a mark of friendship on the Tenth Anniversary of Indian Independence

May I express the hope, and indeed the confidence, that future anniversaries will find the progress recorded here, not just sustained, but accelerated, as the nation goes on from strength to strength

Ellsworth Bunker

Ambassador of the United States of America to India ~ ~

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Introduction

India, under British rule, was in no sense devoid of programmes for social and economic betterment

The Rural Reconstruction Movement, popular in the "twenties" and "thirties" gave impetus to a considerable number of pilot agricultural projects, which were of more than local significance, and which contained the germ of the modern community development programmes

Pioneering educators, widely separated geographically, undertook limited, though effective, educational experimentation, with the object of relating education more closely to village life

There was progress in social welfare, in the improvement of industrial labour conditions, and in the field of public health

There was a certain amount of cooperation between Government Departments, looking towards a unified approach to the administrative district

But all official programmes advanced or lagged in proportion to the enthusiasm and abilities of the district administrative officer, to the amount of funds available at a given time and—still more important in the 30 years preceding Independence—in proportion to the amount of cooperation extended by the Indian people during the critical days of the Independence struggle. The fundamental weakness of pre-Independence social and economic programmes

was that they were felt to belong to Government and not to the people

With the coming of Independence releasing the full energies of the people for constructive national service India began to pulsate with new life

The present volume is a brief record of certain aspects of that awakening

Since Gandhi was the architect of the nation it is legitimate to inquire to what extent his ideals are influencing independent India

If Independence inspires the creative genius of a people this creativity should be reflected in the national literature

If Government has responsibility for creating a climate favourable to economic development the proper discharge of this responsibility should be evident in agricultural and industrial progress and in the scope of governmental planning

Concern for human welfare should be mirrored in the educational programme in advances in public health and in the support of social welfare activities

If the Constitution seeks to secure equality of status and of opportunity for all citizens the women of the nation should enjoy privileges equal in every way to those of the men

If governmental programmes are to be of the people and by the people instead of simply for the people there must be an ever increasing measure of public cooperation in these programmes

The chapters in this volume give evidence that India is meeting these tests

The coming of Independence has released creative forces which are at work in every phase of the national life, and has expanded the areas of popular participation

India, relying on democratic processes, has in a single decade strengthened the social services of the nation, increased both agricultural and industrial production and, at the same time, maintained intellectual and cultural freedom

The United States Information Service, under whose auspices this volume is published, expresses its sincere thanks to the authors of the several chapters, who, though burdened with heavy responsibilities, graciously found time to cooperate in the production of this study

The volume is presented in the belief that, as nations committed to progress through democratic methods come to understand each other's problems and share the story of each other's achievements, they will be drawn closer together and receive fresh impetus for their common task the promotion of the general welfare, while preserving the dignity and rights of the individual citizen

Clifford Manshardt

Gandhi's Ideas in Post-Independence India

By R R Diwakar

He is the architect of Indian freedom—that was how Lord Mountbatten, the then Governor-General, characterized Gandhi on the 15th of August, 1947, the first day of independence, won by the unique method of non-violent resistance. But apart from politics, Gandhi has deeply influenced many more vital aspects of Indian life and thought. It is in that context that he is hailed as the Father of the Indian Nation. Unfortunately, as in the case of another great soul, Abraham Lincoln of United States, it was the bullet of a fanatic that snatched Gandhi away from us, on 30th January, 1948, when he was in the midst of his humane mission of communal harmony. This brief study covers the period from that date to February 1957.

Slightly made, he was hardly five feet six, none who met Gandhi could fail to be struck by his beaming face, light-brown and sun-burnt, his broad receding forehead, biggish ears, and his straight and prominent nose. Most remarkable, however, were his penetrating eyes which seemed to probe

the depth of one's heart. Quick and firm was his step like the decisions he made and the action he took. Fragile as was his body it had the advantage of being inured to hard suffering and subjected to strict discipline. It was rejuvenated by long fasts conducted carefully and undertaken for moral fortification. At 76 he could work eighteen hours a day.

Gandhi was an earnest seeker after truth. He often mentioned the name of God but he defined God as Truth which meant the Law of Being the Law of Existence. He called his whole life an experiment with Truth. Truly did he endeavour ceaselessly and in the spirit of a scientist to find truth through non violence or universal love. He looked upon his own conscience as the final arbiter but when he failed to see light or find a solution he sought it in all humility through prayer to Truth or God. Being human he thought he was liable to err and therefore would always invite suffering and sacrifice on himself rather than impose it on others with whom he might be in conflict or when fighting injustice and evil. This led him to the way of life which he called *Satyagraha*.

Gandhi was undoubtedly one of those rare persons who have a vision of the future and an awareness of their own mission in life.

As early as 1908 when he was still in the midst of his South African struggle he wrote The

struggle in Transvaal is not without its interest for India

It (Passive resistance) may be a slow remedy but I regard it as an absolutely sure remedy, not only for our ills in Transvaal but for all the political and other troubles from which our people suffer in India” This was in reply to a request for a message to India, by Reverend Joseph Doke, a Baptist missionary and Gandhi’s earliest biographer India was then in the grip of the *Swadeshi* and boycott agitation against the British In 1909, Gandhi wrote his seminal book, “*Hind Swaraj*” (Indian Home Rule) giving his basic ideas and advocating the use of passive resistance or soul-force, for securing independence for India The book was banned by the Government of India When he was told that no country had ever won freedom by non-violent means, he replied, “To believe that what has not occurred in history will not occur at all is to argue disbelief in the dignity of man” (*Hind Swaraj*) Similarly, when questioned in 1932, on the eve of the Civil Disobedience Movement, he said, “We are writing new history” Far later, when people seemed to be worried about his successor, he declared in a meeting of the AICC (Jan 1942), “And I know this that when I am gone he (Nehru) will speak my language ”

It may be noted here that for him, the gospel of passive resistance was not limited merely to fighting the British rulers It was far more comprehensive

and meant the use of soul force or moral power for fighting all evil without recourse to physical force. He therefore coined the Indian word *Satyagraha* which literally means peaceful or non violent insistence on truth. In fact quest of truth through non violence was the foundation of his faith. The two words *Satyagraha* and *Sarvodaya* (progress of all without class hatred and class conflict) sum up his philosophy of life. His non violence includes the positive concept of aggressive and unceasing love for all life. Dr Albert Schweitzer's doctrine of Reverence for Life is akin to Gandhi's non violence. His philosophy is rooted in the inner spiritual realization of the unity of all life of all consciousness.

Opinions differ on the question of the influence and implementation of Gandhi's ideas in independent India. Some go to the extent of saying that Gandhi's ideas died with him they think that they were so high and so peculiar that after him none could implement them. This is obviously a desperate and a defeatist view. There is another class of people who think that only Vinoba Bhave his closest disciple and the members of the *Sarva Seva Sangh* are trying to implement them. This is an other extreme view. It might be that in today's India the modern scientific outlook the chain of laboratories the big industrial plants the mighty multipurpose projects the frequent elections and

party fights, and such other things may seem to be out of focus with some of Gandhi's ideas, to those who take a narrow and orthodox view of his ideology. But at the same time, if one examines what is happening in India in all fields of activity, on what lines India is shaping, and how Gandhi himself tried to adjust to realities in his life-time one cannot but admit the persistent and enormous influence of Gandhi's main ideas. India is on the march and is sincerely trying to synthesise and adjust his ideas in the context of realities and modern trends.

Gandhi was always against founding any "ism" of his own. "There is no such thing as Gandhism, and I do not want to leave any sect after me", he declared. He dissolved his Ashram, the Gandhi Seva Sangh and such other institutions when he apprehended that his ideas would be monopolised by any one set of people. To the end, he emphasised that he was a humble seeker after truth and that he was carrying on "experiments with Truth". He meant that his was but a point of view, an approach and an attitude rather than a system of thought. He believed in dynamism and in the continuous evolution of ideas.

Another view is that some of his most important ideas, having permeated the life of India, are still unfolding themselves. He had immense faith in himself but had greater faith in the future of India.

and humanity As early as 1908 he said the condition of India is unique Its strength is immeasurable when other civilizations have succumbed the Indian has survived many a shock

I hold the last view though I know that a few of Gandhi's ideas seem to have been rejected a few of them are not implemented immediately and one or two of them may not be practicable For instance his idea that after independence the National Congress should convert itself into a Servants of the People Society his ideas about self sufficient village economy about birth control about immediate total prohibition about very low scales of pay for ministers and so on have not been able to make much headway though some of them have been accepted as policies As a set off there are also instances such as those of free salt in which in spite of the temptation to get easy money to the tune of Rs 9 52 00 000 a year the Government has refused to tax salt in due deference to Gandhi's ideas Gandhi knew that some ideas might not bear fruit but his faith was unshaken In fact in one of his thousands of letters he wrote that infinite patience was the surest test of real faith The fact is that some of his basic ideas are today an integral part of our national thought Some of them have taken definite and concrete shape during the last nine years

It is evidently impossible to deal with or even to enumerate all the ideas of Gandhi here. I can consider only some of them and such as were either original or characteristic, and such ideas, which, but for his advocacy, would not have attained much importance. His ideas have to be viewed here from the point of view of their influence and implementation, vis-a-vis the people of India, the government, other non-official organisations and his disciples.

Gandhi's conception of life was integral and comprehensive and there was practically nothing that did not interest him. But being a man of action, par excellence, what was immediate and practical absorbed him most. He has not written any systematic treatise on any subject, but there is scarcely any important aspect of life on which he has not expressed his definite and unequivocal views, in some context or other. His ideas range from simple rules of health to world government. He did not have any watertight compartments in his thinking and approach, such as religion, politics, and so on. His was a total view of life and he sought to solve all its problems and open all doors by the master key of truth through non-violence.

His basic ideas are spiritual rather than formally religious in the ordinary sense of the word. The various religions were to him so many attempts in the course of man's search for Truth. He declared

he was against mere superstitious ideas. To the great resentment of the Jain community he once allowed a calf to be killed to save it from the agony of an incurable disease. Similarly he caused monkeys to be hunted out of a kitchen garden. He called the cow a poem of pity and encouraged every constructive endeavour for the betterment of cows. The *Gopuri* (cow-colony) at Sevagram his village residence was organised under his direct supervision. Article 48 does not perhaps go as far as he would have liked it to go. Yet it lays down that animal husbandry should be organised on modern and scientific lines by the State and the slaughter of cows, calves and other milch and draught cattle should be prohibited.

As a confirmed humanist Gandhi stood for respect to every human being and for raising the status of those who were backward. His historic fast in Yeravda jail in the cause of untouchables in 1933 and his subsequent all India tour to focus public attention on this problem gave it national importance. Article 46 of the Constitution embodies his anxiety in this respect when it says the State shall promote with special care the educational and economic interests of the weaker sections of the people and in particular of the Scheduled Castes and the Scheduled Tribes and shall protect them from social injustice and all forms of exploitation.

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that all religions when rightly followed led to Truth and they were all worthy of respect. He saw no necessity for leaving one's religion or for conversion from religion to religion. This attitude of his is embodied in the discipline *Sarva Dharma Samabhava*—an equal regard for all religions. He staked all and ultimately laid down his life in the cause of communal harmony. This attitude holds good of India today. In spite of the fact that political partition on the communal and religious basis was forced on India by Mr. Jinnah and the Muslim League with the help of the foreign rulers, India has repudiated that approach. She has declared herself to be a secular State and her Constitution (two years after Gandhi) has given full and equal freedom to all religions and communities. There is no discrimination—formal or informal, legal or constitutional—on grounds of race, religion, caste and so on in independent India. India is a sovereign democratic republic and out of three hundred and sixty millions of population she has forty million Muslims as her citizens this day.

Gandhi took up the question of the removal of untouchability very early in his career. When he was but twelve he asked his mother as to why he should not touch the son of the sweeper in his house. This iniquity towards a large section of Hindus came home to him with greater force when he saw all Indians treated as worse than untouchables in

South Africa He called the custom of untouchability a blot on Hinduism He adopted a Harijan girl, Laxmi, and she became one with his family In independent India, Dr Ambedkar, an untouchable, and Gandhi's political opponent, was made the Central Minister for Law for about five years He was Chairman of the seven-man Drafting Committee in charge of the Constitution Gandhi's ideas regarding a casteless and classless society have found a prominent place in India's Constitution under the chapter on Fundamental Rights By Article 17, untouchability and its practice in any form are abolished and observance of untouchability is punishable by law Similarly, Article 15 declares that the State shall not discriminate against anyone merely on grounds of religion, race, caste, sex, descent, place of birth or residence

Gandhi looked upon all privileges by birth or otherwise as impediments in the way of real democracy and detrimental to equality and dignity of man The bloodless and painless liquidation of the order of princes in India (there were 562 princely states which covered one-third of India's area and commanded one-fourth of its population) with their own consent, was an operation (in contrast with such operations, elsewhere, attended by hatred and cruelty), which was quite in keeping with his ideas Similarly, the abolition of zamindari, whereby the intermediaries between the tillers of land ~

the Government have been wiped out has swept away many feudal customs. The many tenancy laws passed by the States and the proposed legislation for ceiling on holdings of agricultural land which is pending in some States are in line with his strivings during his lifetime.

Gandhi laid special emphasis on equal rights for men and women. In spite of old traditions and customs the Indian Constitution (January 1950) bestowed equal rights on women. The recent enactments regarding the Hindu Code have given them full inheritance and property rights. A share in the father's property is vouchsafed to a daughter. During the last nine years some of the women of India have held the highest posts. Notably Shrimati Vijayalakshmi Pandit has been an ambassador abroad accredited to Russia and then to the United States and the United Kingdom. In between the U.N.O. elected her as the first woman President. At home distinguished women have been holding posts of ministers and governors of States.

During his lifetime Gandhi had hardly any chance of putting into practice his ideas in connection with international relations. He stood for a world federation of free nations (AICC resolution 8-8-42). He was against all war not merely as a pacifist but as a practical politician. He saw that a war was futile and solved no problems but added new ones.

He wished that every country were able to defend itself by non-violent means, even against armed aggression by foreigners. But if any country were not brave enough to do so, he would not like it to succumb to brute force and sink into slavery out of weakness or meekness, under the cloak of non-violence. It was under such circumstances that Gandhi agreed to the Indian army stopping the armed and ruthless raiders in Kashmir on Oct 20, 1947, when the helpless King there applied for help and acceded to India on Oct 26, 1947.

Though a republic, India's continuance in the Commonwealth, her maintenance of friendly relations with Britain, her erstwhile oppressor, her friendship with all countries irrespective of their affiliations with this or that bloc, her strong support to the UN Organisation, her fearless condemnation of imperialistic and colonial rule, her indefatigable efforts for easing world tensions, her *Panch Sheel* doctrine for international coexistence and cooperation, and finally her antipathy to military pacts owe not a little to his inspiration and to his ideas in this respect.

He sometimes expressed his ideas about politics and administration in old phrases. For instance, he said that he would like to establish *Ramraj*, he never meant a monarchy thereby. He meant a just rule under which all were equally happy. When the republican constitution for India was

forged (December 1946) he was too busy with his mission of communal peace between Hindus and Muslims in Noakhali and elsewhere. He never attended a single meeting of the Constituent Assembly nor could he give time to constitution making. He passed away (January 1948) when the Constitution was still on the anvil. But even so some of the most important of his ideas have been incorporated in the Constitution. They are to be found all over but especially so in the chapter on Fundamental Rights and that on Directive Principles of State Policy. I have already referred to removal of untouchability and non discrimination on grounds of religion or community and so on. It may suffice to point out here some other important provisions which clearly reflect his ideas.

Gandhi was against adopting wholesale any existing economic or political system. He thought that India must evolve according to her own genius. This idea is reflected in Article 38 of the Constitution. The State is to evolve and secure as effectively as it may a social order in which justice social economic and political shall inform all institutions of the national life. Article 39 further lays down that the State has to take care that the ownership and control of the material resources of the country are so distributed as best to subserve the common good and that the operation of the economic system does not result in the concentration of

wealth and means of production to the common detriment ”

Gandhi, with his bias for decentralisation of power, laid great stress on village Panchayats, an age-old institution. It was practically in cold storage during British rule. The *Panchayat* is an elected body of villagers which carries on village administration, including trial of civil and criminal cases to a limited extent. During the non-violent non-cooperation movement in 1921, thousands of *Panchayats* were set up in villages by the Congress. The idea persisted and Article 40 now lays down that the State shall take steps to organise village *Panchayats* and endow them with such power and authority as may be necessary to enable them to function as units of self-government.

Gandhi was above all a moral teacher of a high order. As such he was against the use of all alcoholic drinks and narcotics that could come in the way of conscious self-control. He was never willing to compromise on this issue. In his eyes, mere temperance was no remedy. Article 47 declares that “the State shall endeavour to bring about prohibition of the consumption, except for medicinal purposes, of intoxicating drinks and of drugs which are injurious to health ”

He read a deeper meaning in the traditional reverence of the Hindus for the cow and would well extend it to all domestic animals which served man. But

he was against mere superstitious ideas. To the great resentment of the Jain community he once allowed a calf to be killed to save it from the agony of an incurable disease. Similarly he caused monkeys to be hunted out of a kitchen garden. He called the cow a poem of pity and encouraged every constructive endeavour for the betterment of cows. The *Gopuri* (cow colony) at Sevagram, his village residence, was organised under his direct supervision. Article 48 does not perhaps go as far as he would have liked it to go. Yet it lays down that animal husbandry should be organised on modern and scientific lines by the State and the slaughter of cows, calves and other milch and draught cattle should be prohibited.

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In the matter of relationship between capital and labour and in securing the rights of labour Gandhi was a pioneer and he initiated certain principles and methods of labour organisation which he held sacred. He ultimately visualised labour as partner with capital, in production as well as distribution. His mind was made up as early as the Ahmedabad mill-hands strike in 1918, in which he guided them and ultimately found a solution with the co-operation of the mill-owners themselves. His principles are still the guiding star for the biggest textile labour union in Ahmedabad. There is also an all-India labour organisation today called the INTUC. It commands the largest membership in the country. Two of Gandhi's lieutenants in this field are Shri Gulzarilal Nanda, now Minister for Labour, Employment and Planning, and Shri Khandubhai Desai, ex-Minister of Labour. Even a cursory view of labour legislation during the last nine years is enough for anyone to know how Gandhi's ideas are taking shape. Article 43 of the Constitution lays down that, "the State shall endeavour to secure, by suitable legislation or economic organisation or in any other way, to all workers, agricultural, industrial or otherwise, work, a living wage, conditions of work ensuring a decent standard of life and full enjoyment of leisure and social and cultural opportunities."

Gandhi had radical ideas regarding the place of the machine, industrialisation, and decentralisation

of power. These ideas stemmed from his humanistic approach which was not ready to concede anything that would be detrimental to freedom, self-respect, dignity and opportunity for self-culture. But at the same time he was not a mere revivalist and did not want to go back to the age of the bullock cart. He used the motor car, the railway train, the mike and electricity. His main aim was to end exploitation of man by man and he opposed everything that seemed to lend itself to such exploitation. This was the essence of his outlook. He emphasised cottage industries and self-sufficiency in villages with the main intention of improving village economy. But when he found that the village hand spinner could be given only two annas for eight hours work, he said that he must be able to get at least eight annas. He stuck to the *charkha* not because he was a stickler but because there was no other alternative means of serving or organising the villagers. He once said he would even take to cooking if that would help organise the villages. He was always trying to evolve a better *charkha* which would yield more and yet be easily handled by a peasant.

It is true that in the first rush for industrialisation which was long overdue post-independence India could not attend to village and cottage industries to the extent that was necessary. Those who were designated as Gandhians were almost in despair.

But in the latter half of the First Five Year Plan, as well as in the Second Five Year Plan, *Khadi* as well as numerous other village and cottage industries and handicrafts are receiving full attention. And what is important is that they are being encouraged for almost the same reasons for which Gandhi advocated them, namely employment, village economy, link-up with towns and cities and encouragement for traditional skill.

In the field of education, Gandhi introduced in 1935, his scheme of what he called "basic education". He wanted to replace mere bookish and theoretical teaching by education which is correlated with productive activity, with environment, with social life and service. This had a threefold object in view: to promote the sense of the dignity of labour, to make education purposeful, and to make it yield creative joy to students while producing something useful. During his lifetime a number of experiments were carried on and they have continued. The Central Government have now accepted the principle that all primary education should be based on the Gandhian method. Education is a State subject and it is the States that are implementing the scheme. Different States are at different stages of development and Bihar State (40 million) is the most advanced in this matter. As a vast number of trained personnel, more financial resources, more accommodation and land in villages are required, the

progress has been rather slow compared to that of the current system

Gandhi held strong views about the place of the national tongue in education. He was equally a strong advocate of Hindi as the lingua franca of India. He surprised the audience in Banaras by advocating Hindi in 1916 when everyone spoke in English on the occasion of the opening (4.2.1916) of the Hindu University. He founded the *Dakshina Bharat Hindi Prachar Sabha* in Madras as long ago as 1918 and it is now a flourishing institution. The Indian Constitution has adopted Hindi under Article 343 as the language of the Republic. Articles 344-351 relate to the place as well as development of Hindi as also of all Indian languages.

For the last two years if not more India was very much agitated over the question of linguistic provinces. There is now an Act of Parliament and reorganisation of States has come into being since the first of November, 1956. But the history of this move goes far back. It was in 1920 that Gandhi drew up a fresh constitution for the Indian National Congress. Irrespective of political divisions of those days he formed linguistic provinces for the purpose of Congress work. Since then this idea gathered strength and Gandhi was generally for linguistic States. He was however against linguism and all parochial considerations.

“Back to the Villages” was one of Gandhi’s powerful exhortations. To set an example, he chose one out-of-the-way village near Wardha in Central India and built his mud cottage there. That village is now known as Sevagram. At that time, it could be reached only by an indifferent cart-track. For Gandhi, India lived in her villages. Though this idea of his could not be worked up earlier in independent India, October 1952 saw the launching of the first set of fifty community projects covering about five million people. Since then this scheme for the all-round development of villages has made rapid progress. There is a remarkable awakening in the villages under these projects and in the National Extension Service Blocks. The beneficiaries have not only become plan-minded and enthusiastic but they have contributed substantially in money, material and labour towards improvement in their own areas. By this time, the total number of villages and population covered in India by these two schemes are 120,000 and 80 million respectively. The amount spent so far on these schemes has been of the order of Rs 85,68,00,000 and that provided up to the end of the Second Five Year Plan is Rs 190,40,00,000. The schemes include plans for an all-sided improvement of villages, from the point of view of production of foodgrains, local industries, handicrafts, provision of wells, compost-making, improvement of cattle, schools, medical aid, entertainments and so on.

Gandhi's emphasis and approach has been instrumental in inspiring this programme though it is not exactly like his programme of village development.

So far I have referred to Gandhi's ideas the place they have secured in the Constitution of the country and their implementation by the Government in full co-operation with the people. It may be interesting also to take note of what his close followers have done to continue his tradition. Foremost among such persons is Vinoba Bhave who in an inspired moment began the *Bhoodan* movement in April 1951. He is carrying out his Mission with utter sincerity and in the Gandhian spirit. As long ago as 15th November 1928 (Young India) Gandhi wrote that the means of production of the primary necessities of life should remain in the control of the masses. They should be freely available to all as God's air and water are or ought to be. This and his idea that all that a man holds in excess of his immediate needs should be held in trust for the community is the text on which Bhave's *Bhoodan* movement is a sustained commentary. He asks for a voluntary gift primarily of land as well as of money and material in order that he may rehabilitate the landless. His calculation is that if he gets 50 million acres he will be able to give land to all the landless in the land. Within the short space of five and a half years Vinoba was able to secure 42 64 000 acres as gifts and had already distributed

5,15,332 acres among the landless. The residents of 1,523 whole villages had agreed to get the land redistributed by Vinoba.

He goes on foot from village to village and has by now covered nine States. Numerous small groups of his "foot soldiers" are touring different parts of the country. Jayaprakash Narayan, the Socialist leader, may be said to be his greatest convert. Navakrishna Choudhary, the Chief Minister of Orissa State, recently resigned his job and joined Vinoba in his mission. This campaign has been supported by the Indian National Congress. Some of the States have passed legislation to facilitate land gifts and redistribution. This movement has great potentialities. Just at present it has helped create a psychology favourable to radical land-legislation, be it abolition of zamindari or fixation of ceiling on holdings. Vinoba declares from the house-tops with all his moral authority, that all land belongs to God, it must be shared by all, it can be held only by those who toil on it.

There are a number of other big and non-governmental all-India organisations also, such as *Khadi* and *Gramodyog Board*, *Sarva Seva Sangh*, *Rashtra-bhasha Parishad*, *Kasturba Trust*, *Gandhi Smarak Nidhi*, *Navajeevan Trust*, *Harijan Sevak Sangh*, *Admjyati Sewa Mandal*, which are trying to implement especially what Gandhiji called his "constructive programme". It includes the spread of *Khadi*

and village industries propagation of basic education training of women for social work service of untouchables and tribals publication of Gandhi's writings and so on All this work today is expanding and is receiving active help and co-operation both from the government and the people

Regarding the publication of literature written by Gandhi and about Gandhi many new books are coming out some in English but far more in the Indian languages The most outstanding publication however is the eight volume 3 500 page biography by D G Tendulkar with a foreword by Nehru The *Navajeevan* Trust of Ahmedabad which until recently continued to bring out the weekly journal

Harijan which Gandhi edited is continuously publishing cheap editions of Gandhi's writings It has also started publishing his detailed biography by Pyarelal Gandhi's personal secretary One volume *The Last Phase* has already come out The Government of India has sponsored the publication of everything that Gandhi wrote in Gujarati Hindi and English including thousands of his letters to numerous people The *Gandhi Smarak Nidhi* has decided to bring out volumes in all Indian languages containing the complete thought and teachings of Gandhi

Obviously what has been said above is but a fraction of what could be said on this subject

It is indicative rather than exhaustive. It is an outline which can give a fair idea of the principles and operation of characteristically Gandhian ideas during the last nine years. The objective statement I have made belies the common error of some people that Gandhi's ideas are no longer in the mind of the people or of the administration of India. This brief survey also shows that some of his ideas, while in the process of implementation under circumstances not envisaged before, have undergone some inevitable modifications. It is also obvious that a few of his ideas have, for the present at least, been found impracticable. It is also natural that some of his methods should have been abused by misguided people, notably passive resistance and fasting. But on the whole, in words similar to those of Wordsworth in quite a contrary context, Gandhi's ideas "are too much with us".

GLOSSARY

<i>Adimjati</i>	—Aboriginals, Tribals
<i>AICC</i>	—All India Congress Committee, the business body (about 400) of the Indian National Congress
<i>Charkha</i>	—Hand spinning wheel
<i>Civil disobedience</i>	—Peaceful disobedience of selected laws
<i>Gramodyoga</i>	—Village industries

<i>Harijan</i>	—Literally men of God term used by Gandhi for untouchables in India
<i>INTUC</i>	—Indian National Trade Union Congress
<i>Hind Swaraj</i>	—Home Rule for India
<i>Jain</i>	—A member of the Jain community which believes Ahimsa (non injury) to be the highest religion
<i>Khadi</i>	—Cloth which is woven on hand loom out of hand spun yarn
<i>Linguism</i>	—Wrong and very narrow emphasis on one's language language fanaticism
<i>Panchayat</i>	—Literally a body of five persons a village committee
<i>Panch Sheel</i>	—Five principles of conduct
<i>Ramraj</i>	—Rule of Rama the famous King of Ayodhya
<i>Rashtrabhasha</i>	—National language
<i>Sarva Seva Sangh</i>	—Servants of All Society
<i>Scheduled Castes</i>	—Castes listed as untouchables
<i>Scheduled Tribes</i>	—Tribes listed as belonging to that category
<i>Swadeshi</i>	—Made in one's own country

Linguistic and Literary Trends in Modern India

By K M Munshi

Linguistic and literary trends in India cannot be understood without appreciating, first, the linguistic and literary homogeneity of its twelve regional languages, secondly, the influence of the two all India languages—Sanskrit and English, and, lastly, the common inspiration which has run through the parallel movements of their literature

Eight of these languages, spoken by nearly 230 million are Indo-Aryan in structure, their vocabulary is principally drawn from Sanskrit and their literary power has been enriched by the joint influence of Sanskrit and English. Four languages of South India, spoken by about 89 million, are Indo-Dravidian in structure, while their vocabulary is partially drawn from Sanskrit, the proportion varying between 80 to 30%, their literary power is shaped by Sanskrit to a very large extent, except in the case of Tamil, where the shaping influence has been limited

Sanskrit, therefore, occupies the position of a parent language in India. It is known to most

Hindus who have gone through the University education and is made a subject of special study by the older type of scholars who still exercise considerable influence throughout the country. It is the language of rituals which cater to the religious needs of about 290 million Hindus. Its richness and expressive power glisten like golden threads through all the languages and their literature except high Urdu.

Hindi has been found acceptable by the country as the medium of all India intercourse because its structure and vocabulary are largely drawn from Sanskrit and is therefore common to the whole country. With its variant Urdu (which has a predominantly Perso Arabic vocabulary) it is spoken or understood with a little effort by no less than 250 million people in the whole country and for several years the speakers of other regional languages have been taking to its study.

II

Till the 13th century for over 1500 years Sanskrit was the medium of higher thought and expression. It was the language of rituals, literature, philosophy and science, the language of courts and law texts. Even after the 13th century when many of the Hindu kingdoms came to be destroyed by Muslim invaders for the vast majority of the people it was the speech of the gods, the medium of religion, thought and

philosophy Its literature was the principal source from which the regional languages drew their richness and beauty Even the religious impulse which moved the masses and led to the growth of literature of the *bhaktas* (devotees) and the *santas* (men of God) drew its inspiration from Sanskrit sources Of its great representatives, Tulsidas, Surdas and Mira are still living influences, and so is *Guru Granth Saheb*, the scripture of the Sikhs, which is a collection of poems by saint poets of medieval India

Between the 13th and the 18th century, Persian was the language of the courts of Muslim kings In the 18th century, Urdu, enriched by Persian, also became a language of literature, cultivated not only by Muslims but also by Hindus who were associated with the Muslim courts Its influence on Hindi and Punjabi has also not been negligible

III

From the beginning of the 19th century, the gifted among those young men who had received education through the medium of English, or who happened to have received education in England, laid the foundation of the Indo-Anglian literature

In 1857, when the great revolt against the British was crushed, and India lost whatever power of military resistance she had, sensitive souls were driven to search for new weapons of the spirit in

order to combat the foreign rule and the alien culture for which it stood. One of the by products of the urge was the search for a national language which Dayanand Saraswati, a great religious leader found in Hindi.

In 1857 when the three major universities were established in the country an aspiring generation which joined them to qualify for new careers which had opened for them under the British rule drew their literary inspiration from the English classics. At the same time the labours of eminent indologists beginning with Sir William Jones had revived keen interest in Sanskrit and having been prescribed as a classical language in the universities the new graduates drew fresh inspiration from its literature.

These two factors harnessed to the newly developed national aspirations led to the birth of the Indian literary renaissance. Its first gift to India was a virile prose. The influence of Shakespeare and Moliere as also of the dramas of Kalidasa led to the revival of drama after well nigh seven hundred years that of Scott and Lytton gave us the historical romance that of Jane Austen, Dickens and Thackeray gave us the social novels that of Keats, Shelly and Byron the new lyrical poetry which in the works of rare poets was softened by the classical restraint borrowed from the Sanskrit masters Valmiki, Kalidasa and Bhavabhuti. The first great product of this movement Bankimchandra

Chattopadhyaya of Bengal, often referred to as the father of literary renaissance of India, was also one of the great pioneers of national resurgence

The new literary impulse was a counterpart of the general movement of the new spirit. It sought to break up the other worldliness which oppressed the national mind during the medieval period. It also led to a search for new values, purer forms of religion and truer appreciation of the role of woman in life, for joy in this life rather than happiness in the next, for higher aspiration and inner richness. The old-world worship of the Mother-goddess was transmuted into the service of the country, deified as *Bharatmata*, Mother India. *Karmayoga* became the cult of the day, not as one enjoining ritualistic duties, but as demanding complete dedication to the country's redemption.

These movements were reflected in the literature of almost all the regional languages. Vigorous modes of expression were developed and a new word-consciousness was born. There was a search for new literary forms. Experiments were also made with blank verse. India's past was re-assessed with passionate devotion and was rescued from the under-estimates and mis-estimates made by the British historians. New meanings were also read in it to suit the mode of the present. Historical romance, the favourite form with many outstanding literary men in most regional languages and highly

popular with the public recreated the heroic past. Social novels and drama reflecting the life of the middle class and its problems carried the ever recurring refrain that man and woman had the right to love and be loved for themselves.

The poetic movement was driven forward by the subjective impulse of which aestheticism was the dominant note. Formal and didactic poetry lost its appeal. The pace was no doubt set by the twentieth century lyricists of England but the romanticism of the leading poets of the country was always restrained by the influence of Sanskrit poets. Some gifted poets tried even to recapture the refinement of Kalidasa and Bhavabhuti the great Sanskrit poets though with little success. These different streams mingling in imperceptible harmony combined with Vedantic universalism of a rare ethereality produced the immortal works of the great poet Rabindra Nath Tagore.

IV

Soon after the Russo Japanese War which ended in 1905 nationalism swept over the country and Shri Aurobindo then Professor Arvind Ghosh emerged as the prophet of militant nationalism not only in politics but in thought and literature. His medium was the English language which he wielded with great effect both in poetry and prose. His sweeping vision synthesised the different aspects of

the national resurgence, boldly re-interpreting the historical and artistic achievements of the country and re-defining the scope of its mission in history. Under his influence, the sensitive young men of the day began to shed their apologetic attitude towards the West.

From 1919, Gandhiji began to dominate the mind and spirit of India, he became the meeting point of all the movements of national resurgence and the starting point of many others. His concern for the poor and the oppressed also gave a new orientation to what was a middle-class attitude on life. His emphasis on Truth, Non-violence and "Surrender unto God", gave a sense of reality to the values for which the heritage of India had stood.

The movements, which Gandhiji sponsored and directed, channelled the urge to national freedom and led to the development of the technique of *satyagraha* which gave to national aspirations a new sense of mission.

Gandhiji was the master of English and Gujarati prose, characterised by biblical simplicity and directness. His writings, which were translated in all the regional languages, lent new vigour to literature. As a result, the national imagination turned from past glory to present achievements in the South. Romanticism, which was in the clouds, came down to the earth. The aesthetic was harnessed to practice.

and moral values Bharati in the South and Muthil Sharan in the North caught the spirit of freedom in poems of rare beauty Biography and history of current movements were added to historical romance and social novels as a popular form of literature For the first time social novels and comedies began to deal with the life of the lowly and obscure in towns and villages with sympathy Literature and journalism now ventured into most spheres of life for their subjects

Literature of the renaissance period thus developed a comprehensive vision a moral responsibility and a revolutionary urge which was all the more irresistible because it was born of a self-confidence that it was blazing a new trail in the search for world redemption through non violence

V

We are so near the achievements of the renaissance period that an accurate appraisal of the post freedom trends becomes difficult But one trend has been clearly discernible English has retreated from schools and colleges and its influence on literature has naturally grown weak even the contact with European literature which was maintained through English is becoming rather remote Academic standards have fallen Linguistic solidarity between the educated in the country shows a tendency of breaking up under the pressure of linguism a movement

which uses a regional language as a lever in power politics. Thoughtful people, therefore, have been awakened to the necessity of preventing a further retreat of English, at any rate from the field of higher expression and thought.

In spite of this trend, however, the output of Indo-Anglian literature has suffered neither in volume nor in quality. Inter-regional newspapers and journals are increasingly in demand. The works of Gandhiji, Sri Aurobindo, Jawaharlal Nehru, Rajagopalachari and Radhakrishnan are as popular as before. Works in the fields of history, biography, autobiography, politics, economics, sociology and current affairs have been multiplying. A number of brilliant Indian authors both in India and abroad have been making a notable contribution to creative literature. In them all we find a spirit of exultation born of the new freedom and an attempt to evaluate life in terms of the new demands which are made on India as an important member of the international community.

Hindi, now accepted as the official language of the Union of India by the Constitution, has yet to acquire the richness, elasticity and expressive power of English for the purposes which the latter has been serving. Yet it is on the march. Its fate is linked with the future of Free India. It is only a question of time before it becomes a national language in the fullest sense.

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instincts by glorifying violence, crime and indiscriminate sex-relations. The cult, which has also been adopted by the film-world of India, has been acquiring a hold over the younger generation which seeks entertainment and inspiration from the cinema, debasing values and creating hunger for a degrading literature which needy authors are not slow to satisfy. It is a pity that the magnificent art with which Hollywood presents heroic or moving episodes with glamorous realism carries so little sense of values and does not even mitigate the danger flowing from this cult.

There is another powerful trend released by the efforts made by the politicians to usher in an era of democracy pledged to economic justice. In their utterances they emphasise secularism, it is often understood by people as anti-religionism, rather than in its intended sense of religious freedom and tolerance. They place before the people economic and social progress as the supreme goal, thereby subordinating, if not rejecting altogether, the role of moral and spiritual values in the scheme of welfare. Though Gandhiji is often invoked as the Father of the Nation, there has been a perceptible recoil from his teachings as the prophet of spiritualised politics and of non-violence as a soul force, and certainly from his personality as a man of God. In the result, the new outlook which is developing, is being deprived of the creative fervour and the passionate sense

of mission for which pre freedom upsurges stood
The younger generations are left bereft of a moving
faith

The vast development plans have produced satisfaction among the intelligentsia and some enthusiasm in the countryside but so far they have had little appeal for the sensitive soul of the creative artist. The will to work has not seized the national mind neither has it been transformed into the will to create as it must be if a new literary upsurge has to be born.

These trends have not yet been well defined but have succeeded in creating an artistic crisis in the creative minds resulting in a blind groping towards a new direction and a fresh mission. Many things old have preserved their form but lost their appeal many new things have neither form nor appeal.

Luckily the Sanskrit classics the *Upanishads* and the *Mahabharata* of which *Gita* is a section still kindle the sacred fire of creative imagination. Medieval poets like Jnaneshwar and Tulsidas provide living inspiration and some of the old European masters evoke a thrill of beauty by their very resonance. All these carry the promise of a fresh literary awakening.

The central urge of the literary renaissance also continues to dominate most of the new literature that has more than a transient interest. The canon is firmly accepted that true literature should speak

from experience, that it should accept the intrinsic values of the human heart as fundamental, that in man's relation with man, woman and the supernatural powers, the approach should be so courageous as to face truths as they are, defying alien restraint and collective tyranny. The inner life of the individual still remains the central theme of high literary utterance.

The intellectual and artistic freedom which this urge implies is well entrenched in the Indian mind, which is wedded to the democratic way of life. We can, therefore, look forward with some confidence to a new creative passion, born of the genius of India, rising from the ashes of the old.

Planning in Independent India

By Gulzarilal Nanda

The object of planning in India is to give a social and economic content to political freedom. In 1947 the economic picture in India was not markedly different from what it had been 30 or 40 years before. The economy was dependent in a high degree on the vagaries of agriculture. Vast numbers of people continued in a state of poverty. The rate of savings in the economy was low and the advances made in communications, trade and industry were scarcely enough to meet the pressure of population. Political freedom made it possible for the people of India as indeed it cast upon them the obligation to harness their resources and to build their own future. Thus the need for planning arose on the one hand from the desire to pursue long term social and economic aims and to create a pattern of democratic society capable of solving the urgent problems of the mass of the people and on the other from the fact that the resources available were small and had to be husbanded carefully and developed steadily.

While the possibilities of planning could be realised

only after India attained freedom, the urge for planning and the readiness of the country to undertake planning had taken root several years before. In the late thirties, many thinking persons could see that without planning India's immense problems could not be solved. More than a year before the Second World War the Indian National Congress set up a National Planning Committee with Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru as chairman. The political circumstances of the time did not favour constructive work of this kind, and the Committee was not permitted to complete its work. However, through a series of studies which it prepared and the groups of able men and women whom it assembled for the study of national problems, the Committee laid the foundations for later planning. During the war, there was considerable public interest in a fifteen-year plan of development which was put forward by a group of leading Indian businessmen in Bombay. This was followed by the setting-up at the Centre of a Planning and Development Department. Both the Central Government and the States drew up post-war reconstruction schemes. Many of these were put into effect, and when the First Five Year Plan was taken in hand one of its important tasks was to bring many projects, which had been thought of or initiated earlier, into a well-knit programme which blended the new with the old. It would, however, be fair to add that through the

years a growing body of public opinion had begun to perceive the necessity of planning but not yet its implications in terms of the total effort which the entire community and different sections of it would be called upon to make

The past ten years can be divided broadly into four periods. The first period begins with the attainment of freedom in August 1947 and ends with the start of the Korean war. The second period stretches from the Korean war to the end of 1953-54. The third includes the last two years of the First Five Year Plan and a part of 1956-57. The last period may be said to commence about the middle of 1956-57. In each period certain dominant features stand out. The first period was in some ways the most difficult of all. The partition of the sub continent led to vast refugee movements and widespread suffering. India had to receive about 8 million displaced persons from Pakistan. Deep tragedy ran through the lives of millions of persons who had been uprooted from their homes. They presented problems of tremendous magnitude which unfolded themselves with a suddenness that was truly bewildering. The Central Government spared neither personnel nor resources and thanks to the lead it provided administrations in most provinces proved capable of meeting the new challenge. The shock was absorbed with great calm. Relief was given to large numbers of displaced persons as they poured in day after day.

and the tasks of rehabilitation were taken up in earnest. Yet this was only one of a series of immediate problems then confronting the country. During the war intense inflationary pressures had developed and, through controls over food and civil supplies, had been with difficulty held in check. At the end of the war there were large pent-up demands and on every side the economy was greatly strained. Domestic production suffered, the railway system was not in good repair and large quantities of rolling stock had been diverted towards war uses, and food as well as consumer goods were in short supply. In several countries, with two or three years of peace the tasks of restoration were completed and the tensions of war-time economy were resolved speedily, in India, in part for reasons beyond its control, the economic effects of the war continued to be felt for several years. The devaluation of the rupee in the middle of 1949 was part of the devaluation of currencies in the entire sterling area, but there was enough in India's own economic situation to warrant this step.

It was in these circumstances that within a few weeks of the inauguration of India's new Constitution as a Republic, the decision was taken to set up the Planning Commission. The Planning Commission derived its main aims from the Constitution, which called upon the State to strive to promote the welfare of the people by securing and directing as

effectively as it could a social order in which justice—social economic and political—should inform all the institutions in national life. The State was directed under the Constitution to secure that all citizens men and women equally had the right to an adequate means of livelihood that the ownership and control of the material resources of the community were so distributed as best to subserve the common good ; and that the operation of the economic system did not result in the concentration of wealth and means of production to the common detriment. These are necessary objectives in any democracy but even in the early stages it was realised that the poverty of the people the low levels of productivity and the very magnitude of the task to be undertaken were serious obstacles. It was obvious that the social and economic development of a country such as India could scarcely be accomplished within a brief period of five or ten years but it was hoped that during the first decade of freedom strong foundations could be laid new lines of policy initiated and the cooperation of the people elicited for what was necessarily a continuing endeavour.

This then was the perspective against which the First Five Year Plan was prepared. The Plan was conceived modestly its main preoccupations being the prevailing inflationary situation and the food shortage but in several directions it set into motion new social and economic processes whose significance

was to grow with time. The Plan envisaged a total outlay of Rs 2,069 crores in the public sector, and investment of the order of Rs 1,700 crores in the private sector. A little less than half of the outlay in the public sector was to be devoted to the rural sector. The distribution of expenditure under the First Five Year Plan was to be as follows

	In crores of Rs	Per cent of total
Agriculture and Community Development	361	17.5
Irrigation	168	8.1
Multi purpose Irrigation and Power Projects	266	12.9
Power	127	6.1
Transport and Communications	497	24.0
Industry	173	8.4
Social Services Rehabilitation and Miscellaneous	477	23.0
	2,069	100.0

The First Plan led off with new policies and programmes along at least five different directions

- (1) strengthening of the rural base,
- (2) building up of economic and social overheads,
- (3) enabling the private sector to advance rapidly and make its contribution to economic growth,
- (4) recognition of the role and possibilities of the public sector for industrial development, and

- (5) expansion of social services and in particular the creation of wider opportunities for the less developed section of the population

These were essentially long term tasks : Nevertheless it can be said that during the First Plan appreciable advances were made and the ground was prepared for the larger advances envisaged for the second and later Five Year Plans Even during the First Plan two stages could be discerned one as mentioned above falling within the period from the beginning of the Korean war to the end of 1953 54 and the second stretching a little beyond the close of the First Plan period During the first half of the Plan developmental outlays were being only slowly stepped up and the Five Year Plan had just begun to enter into the consciousness of the people Improvement in agricultural production in 1952 53 followed by the bumper harvest of 1953 54 helped to absorb to a very large extent the inflationary pressures which had persisted for several years This development coincided with the end of the Korean war which had already stimulated inflationary pressures in several of the advanced economies The Grow More Food and other agricultural programmes which had been undertaken for several years were now beginning to produce an impact but favourable seasons were no small element in the change which came about in India's economic situation The marked increase

in agricultural production which was recorded in 1953-54 made it possible to free the Indian economy from the complex and wearying system of controls which had been in existence for nearly 10 years and prepared the way for expansion both in the public and in the private sectors. Programmes for expanding employment opportunities were now given greater attention, larger amounts of foreign exchange were made available for the import of capital goods and the intermediate products needed for speeding up industrialisation, import restrictions were considerably relaxed, the internal capital market showed greater buoyancy and in almost every direction bolder plans could be visualised. Thus, the First Five Year Plan ended on a note of optimism and of increasing economic activity.

The results of the First Five Year Plan were in many ways encouraging. The Plan had visualised an increase in national income amounting to 11 per cent, the increase recorded over the Plan period was 17.5 per cent. Population rose from 359 million before the Plan to 384 million at the end of the Plan, nevertheless, *per capita* output increased by over 10 per cent. The production of foodgrains rose from about 54 million tons before the Plan to about 65 million tons in the last year of the Plan. The index of agricultural production as a whole which stood at 95.6 in 1950-51 (base 1949-50=100) rose to about 114 in 1955-56. The production of cot

of rural society

Where economic progress has been retarded for so long a period as in India the gains of a single Five Year Plan can hardly be expected to make a big enough impression on the levels of living and on the problems of unemployment under employment and low rates of capital formation which are inherent in the situation of under developed economies. Although the annual *per capita* income increased from Rs 281 to 331 the steady increase in the number of unemployed persons registered at employment exchanges called attention to a basic problem. It was reckoned at the end of the First Plan that there was urban unemployment of the order of 2.5 million and rural unemployment of the order of 2.8 million. On the eve of the Second Five Year Plan therefore India had to provide not only for some 10 million new entrants to the labour force but also for more than 5 million persons representing the backlog of unemployment. There were besides large numbers of under employed persons accounting for perhaps one fourth to one third of rural workers. It is only through rapid economic advance that the difficult social and organisational problems of under developed countries begin to be resolved. It was therefore natural for India to formulate the Second Five Year Plan with objectives bolder and more far reaching than those of the First Plan.

These were

- (i) a sizable increase in national income so as to raise the level of living in the country,
- (ii) rapid industrialisation with particular emphasis on the development of basic and heavy industries,
- (iii) a large expansion of employment opportunities, and
- (iv) reduction in inequalities in income and wealth and more even distribution of economic power

A plan of economic development is much more than a set of programmes and projects, it embodies also a view of the future, a conception of the social order through which economic progress and the welfare of the people are to be achieved and social and economic stability ensured

Through its Second Five Year Plan India proposes to achieve an increase in national income of 25 per cent, and to expand employment opportunities outside agriculture to the extent of 8 million jobs. It was recognised that a total outlay in the public sector of Rs 4,800 crores and a total investment in the private sector of Rs 2,400 crores, which the Plan visualised, would place the economy under a degree of strain. The stage was passed when the targets and the tasks which the country set itself could be related to anything short of an intense and continuous effort on the part of the administration

and the people. Agricultural production was to be raised by 28 per cent and food production by 25 per cent. With the expansion of production in steel, cement and heavy industries, the index of production of producer goods was to rise during the Plan by about 73 per cent and of factory produced consumer goods by 18 per cent. A large programme of development in village and small scale industries was also taken in hand. The community development programme was to be extended by the end of the Plan period to serve the entire countryside. A little sooner than had been anticipated in its very first year, the Plan came up against foreign exchange difficulties. From now on, the careful husbanding of foreign exchange and dovetailing of such external assistance and credits as might be forthcoming with the requirements of the National Plan assumed considerable importance.

The Second Five Year Plan has added a new dimension to India's approach to planned development and its efforts to secure rapid economic growth. In this task, there is the closest cooperation between the Central and State Governments. Public cooperation and public opinion constitute the principal force and sanction behind democratic planning. It would be correct to say that efforts to elicit public participation have been generally successful and wherever the people have been approached they have responded with eagerness. In every part of India

there is widespread testimony to willingness and enthusiasm on the part of the people to contribute to local community development. The path of economic development is at all times a difficult one and entails sacrifice. It is especially so at the present time when India has to sustain heavy burdens unrelated to economic development, including the continuing influx of displaced persons. Over the years, however, India has been able to evolve an approach to planning which is comprehensive in scope, conceived broadly so as to draw all the sources of creative endeavour into national reconstruction and which commands the general support and confidence of its people. In this approach there is emphasis, on the one hand, on the building up of a strong rural base through the development of cooperation, land reform, national extension service and community projects and agricultural production programmes and, on the other, on balanced development of large scale and heavy industries along with village and small-scale industries. The Industrial Policy Resolution of April 1956, provides a framework for rapid industrial development through the combined efforts of both the public and the private sector working together to fulfil the National Plan. While invoking the utmost effort from its own people, India's planning offers also wide and growing scope for help and cooperation from others.

Progress in Agriculture Since Independence

By Panjabrao S Deshmukh

How greatly the prosperity of India depends on the man behind the plough may be seen from the fact that of the total population of 361 millions in 1951 as much as 70% or about 253 millions depend mainly on agriculture for their livelihood and agriculture contributes nearly 50% of the total national product. Agriculture thus constitutes the base of the national economy and the pace of development in other sectors is largely dependent on the progress in the agricultural sector. But although agriculture is the mainstay of the bulk of population agriculture in India is a depressed industry. The relative income in the agricultural sector is far less than that in the non agricultural sectors and the total produce of the land is too small to provide a decent living to the entire agricultural population. This disquieting feature in the agricultural economy is a legacy of the past and is the cumulative effect of a combination of factors like low rates of yield per acre dependence on the freaks of monsoons increasing pressure of farm

population on land, primitive tillage system, lack of improved seeds and adequate irrigation system, soil exhaustion, antiquated implements, fragmentation of holdings, uncertain tenure of tenancy, exploitation of the cultivator by money lenders, etc. In short, low productive capacity and the basic weakness in the agrarian structure tended to reduce agriculture to a deficit economy.

When India attained independence in 1947, the base of the agricultural economy had been further weakened by War and Partition. War had led to a decline in the standard of cultivation and a shift from agrarian to war time production. War time controls had also narrowed the margin between costs and returns and exercised a somewhat inhibitory effect on production. The partition of the country created a grave situation of shortages. India lost an annual supply of 7 to 8 million tons of foodgrains from territories which went over to Pakistan. There was not only a deterioration in the food situation but conditions of uncertainty and instability developed in two major industries, namely jute and cotton textiles, for while most of the mills lay in the Indian Union, important cotton and jute growing areas fell in Pakistan. To meet the shortage in supply, larger imports of foodgrains, cotton and jute had to be arranged, which adversely affected the balance of payments position. Prices of agricultural commodities showed an alarming

rise and the latent inflationary pressure which developed after the War added strength to the rising spiral

The immediate task before Independent India was therefore to overcome physical shortages and to put agriculture on a sound basis. A Grow More Food Campaign had been launched as early as 1943 but the campaign could be placed on a planned basis only after Independence. An integrated programme was formulated in 1950-51 for the achievement of relative self sufficiency in food, cotton, jute and sugarcane. When the Nation's First Five Year Plan was formulated in 1951, the integrated production programme was merged with it. With the First Five Year Plan, the promotion of rapid and balanced economic development became the central objective of economic policy. And as no economic development in India is possible without accelerating the tempo of progress in the agricultural sector, the pride of place in the First Five Year Plan was naturally accorded to agriculture.

The objectives in the development of agriculture under the First Five Year Plan were threefold: firstly, to make an all out effort to maximise agricultural production through extensive and intensive cultivation methods; secondly, to bring about a transformation in the institutional framework through land reform and co-operative development;

and thirdly, to set up development agencies through National Extension and Community Projects so as to accelerate the process of agricultural development

For increasing the production of agricultural commodities, it was proposed in the Plan to increase the production of foodgrains from 54.0 million tons to 61.6 million tons, of oil-seeds from 5.1 million tons to 5.5 million tons, of cotton from 2.9 million bales to 4.2 million bales, and of jute from 3.3 million bales to 5.4 million bales. The above targets were sought to be achieved both through extensive and intensive method of cultivation. The scope for extension of cultivation to new areas was, however, limited by the cost and difficulties involved in reclamation operations and the need for keeping adequate area under forests and pastures. Emphasis was, therefore, laid primarily on improved tillage, use of more fertilizers and improved seeds and a more plentiful and assured supply of water. A special campaign was also launched to popularize intensive cultivation of rice by methods popularly known as the Japanese method of paddy cultivation. Campaigns for the development of intensive cultivation methods were also organized in the case of some other crops, like sugarcane.

The success achieved during the First Five Year Plan was striking and exceeded expectation. The Index Number of agricultural production (with base year 1949-50=100) increased from 96 in 1950-51

to 102 in 1952 53 it rose to 114 in 1953 54 and touched the peak level of 116.4 in 1954 55. In 1955 56 the Index Number slightly receded to 113.7 but even then it was 18% above the 1950 51 level. The targets of production set out in the First Five Year Plan were exceeded in the case of foodgrains and oilseeds in the third year of the Plan itself namely 1953 54 while in the case of cotton the target was exceeded in the fourth year. In the case of jute and sugarcane however the production in 1955 56 fell short of the targets but still it was substantially above the level of the base year (1950 51). Compared to 1947 48 namely the year of Independence however there has been a marked increase in the production of all agricultural commodities including cotton and jute as is made clear below.

PRODUCTION (In millions)

Crop	1947-48 (Year of Independence)	Base Year of the 1st Five Year Plan	1955 56	Percentage increase in 1955 56 over	
				1947 48	Base Year of the Plan
(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)	(6)
Cereals (tons)	43.74	46.00	53.35	22	16
Pulses (tons)	8.25	8.00	10.19	24	27
Foodgrains (tons)	51.99	54.00	63.54	22	18
Oilseeds (tons)	5.12	5.08	5.60	9	10
Sugarcane (Gur) (tons)	5.82	5.62	5.86	1	4
Cotton (Bales)	2.18	2.91	4.00	83	38
Jute (Bales)	1.66	3.28	4.14	149	26

Note — Base year for foodgrains : 1949 50 and for others 1950 51

This increase in production cannot be explained merely by increase in acreage nor can it be attributed purely to favourable weather conditions. There has been a perceptible increase in the average yield per acre during the Plan period in the case of several crops, the yield per acre of rice which was as low as 596 pounds in 1950-51 went up to 805 pounds in 1953-54, the jowar yield increased from 305 pounds in 1948-49 to 469 pounds in 1954-55 and the yield per acre of wheat went up to 715 pounds in 1954-55 as compared to 566 pounds in 1948-49. Equally impressive has been the increase in the average yield per acre of pulses, cotton and sugarcane, besides the increase in that of other cereals, such as bajra, maize, ragi and barley. There is, therefore, no denying the fact that agricultural productivity has been increasing as a result of the various developmental measures and that the expansion in output has to be explained largely in terms of the input factors.

These include the extension of irrigational facilities, the intensive use of fertilizers, the supply of improved seeds and the programme of land reclamation and development. An idea of the contribution of these factors during the First Five Year Plan period may be had from the fact that about 10 million acres of land were brought under irrigation from minor irrigation works, and 6.3 million acres from large and medium irrigation works, the

consumption of ammonium sulphate was more than doubled from 275 000 tons before the First Plan to 610 000 tons 4 years later more than 1 million acres of land were reclaimed through the Central Tractor Organisation and 1.4 million acres through the State Tractor Organization. The total cropped area increased from 326 million acres before the Plan to 352 million acres in 1954-55. The area under food crops rose from 257 million acres to 272 million acres and the area under commercial crops from 49 million acres to about 60 million acres. Besides this over 5 million acres were developed through development measures including mechanical cultivation bunding and levelling and reclamation of land by manual labour. Special mention needs to be made here of the successful outcome of the campaign for the popularization and extension of the Japanese method of paddy cultivation which was started as an experimental measure during 1953-54 and organized on a countrywide scale with definite targets set for each State during 1954-55. The area under the Japanese method of paddy cultivation increased from 0.4 million acres in 1953-54 to 1.3 million acres in 1954-55 and further to 2.0 million acres in 1955-56. The gain in the production of paddy from this method was impressive being on an average as much as 1 424 lbs of paddy or 951 lbs of rice per acre.

Considerable progress was also made in effecting

necessary changes in the agrarian structure through land reform and co-operative development. The main aspects of land reform have been the abolition of intermediaries, tenancy reform, ceiling on land holdings and reorganization of agriculture. Regarding the abolition of intermediaries, those classes of population, like zamindars, jagirdars and certain other classes of superior landlords who were not performing any economic function at all but only exploiting the actual cultivators and other sections of the population, have been almost entirely abolished. Tenancy reform took the form of the fixation of a maximum rent, provision of security of tenure by preventing unjust ejection of tenants and conferment of the right of ownership of land on tenants. Ceiling on land holdings implies (i) ceiling on future acquisition, and (ii) ceiling on existing holdings. During the First Plan period, ceilings on future acquisition were fixed in a number of States. Agrarian reorganization was also attempted through consolidation of holdings, efficient land management practice, development of co-operative farming and development of co-operative village management.

Along with land reforms, progress was made in co-operative development, the objective of which was to enable co-operation to become increasingly the principal basis for the organization of economic activity. The fields in which the co-operative method of organisation was found most appropriate were

agricultural credit marketing processing etc The aim during the First Plan was to extend co operative credit so as to reach by the end of the Plan 50% of villages and 30% of the rural population Steps were also taken for training of co operative personnel

In accelerating the process of agricultural development community projects and extension service have played a significant role The Community Projects which were started in October 1952 covered about 1/5th of the total number of villages during the Plan period In these areas integrated efforts were made to raise the standard of productive activity of rural population through demonstration supply of information advice about suitable techniques and supply of finance and materials for using that advice in practice The main objective was to create an enthusiasm among the rural population for a higher standard of living through a higher standard of performance In fact such was the importance attached to these community projects that our Prime Minister described them as lamps spreading light in the surrounding darkness The National Extension Service covered about 1/4th of the country by the end of 1955-56 and did valuable service to the cultivator by propagating the use of improved techniques of agricultural production The Farmers Forum and other associations of agriculturists sponsored by the Ministry of Agriculture also rendered considerable assistance to the

agriculturist by creating an enthusiasm to adopt better methods of cultivation

The success achieved under the First Plan imparted a measure of stability to the National Economy. The National income went up by 18%, industrial output by 53% and agricultural output by 18%. The increase in agricultural output, particularly of foodgrains, permitted the abolition of all controls and reduced the country's dependence on imports. Food imports came down from 4.7 million tons in 1951, valued at Rs 217 crores, to only 0.7 million tons in 1955, valued at Rs 33,10,00,000. Likewise, the import of long staple cotton declined from 1.23 million bales in 1950-51, valued at Rs 100,80,00,000 to about 0.7 million bales valued at about Rs 57,30,00,000. In fact, the very success of the First Five Year Plan has paved the way for an increased tempo of development during the Second Five Year Plan.

Though the Second Five Year Plan, which commenced from April, 1956, lays greater emphasis on industrialization, the importance of agricultural development has in no way been diminished. In fact, agriculture continues to occupy a pivotal role in all our development plans and our Prime Minister has only very recently remarked that the slightest weakening in our efforts to increase agricultural production is fatal to planning. "We shall have to work with our sweat and blood," he remarked,

to increase our agricultural production and if we do not we just do not get on with the Plan. As against Rs 241 crores invested in agriculture in the First Plan it is proposed to invest Rs 341 crores in agriculture during the Second Plan. Besides of the allocation of Rs 200 crores for the National Extension and Community Project programme Rs 55 crores have been earmarked for agricultural development.

In view of the increasing demand for food and raw materials on account of our growing population and expanding industries higher targets of agricultural production have been provided for in the Second Five Year Plan. Tentatively the target of additional food production was fixed at 10 million tons, 1.3 million bales for cotton, 1.5 million tons for oilseeds, 1 million bales for jute and 1.3 million tons for sugarcane in terms of *gur*. Although these targets represent a considerable increase over 1955-56 it has been found necessary to revise these targets upward to meet the demand that will be generated by the large development expenditure and also provide a small surplus for exports. The revised targets and the tentative targets of production as in the Plan are shown in the following table.

Commodity	Unit	Estimated production 1955-56 (as given in the Plan)	Tentative target of production as in the Plan	Revised target of production	Percentage increase in index of production	
					As in the Plan	As revised
Foodgrains	Million tons	65.0	75.0	80.5	16	23.8
Oilseeds		5.5	7.0	7.6	27	38.2
Sugarcane (Gir)		5.8	7.1	7.8	22	34.5
Cotton	Million bales	4.2	5.5	6.5	31	54.8
Jute		4.0	5.0	5.5	43	47.5
Other Crops					9	22.4
All Commodities					17	27.1

It will be seen that the revised target of foodgrains production comes to 80.5 million tons or an increase of 23.8% over the estimated production for 1955-56. The production of oilseeds, sugarcane, cotton and jute is expected to go up by 38%, 35%, 55% and 48% respectively. The production of other crops like coconut (oil), arcanut and cashewnut is expected to go up by 62%, 23% and 77% respectively. The agricultural production as a whole would represent an increase of 27%.

As in the First Plan, the higher production will be achieved largely through improvements in techniques and propagation of intensive methods of cultivation. To give an idea of the measures

already envisaged under the Second Plan the irrigated area is to be raised by 21 million acres 12 million acres as a result of the major irrigation projects and 9 million acres from minor irrigation works including the tubewells programme The consumption of nitrogenous fertilizers is proposed to be raised from 0.6 million tons in 1955 to over 1.8 million tons Special stress will be laid also on popularizing the use of new fertilizers like urea ammonium sulphate nitrate calcium ammonium nitrate and other phosphatic fertilizers Encouragement will be given also to green manuring practices and to the utilization of sewage town compost oilcakes and other manures To meet the requirements of improved seeds a comprehensive programme has been drawn up under which a seed multiplication farm with one or two seed stores will be generally set up in each national extension service block Seed testing stations are also to be set up with a view to ensuring and enforcing quality standards for certain categories of seeds especially for vegetable production The Plant Protection activities both by the Central and State Governments will be intensified Plant quarantine stations will be set up at the principal sea ports and air ports The four centres for plant protection equipment set up under the First Plan will be strengthened and ten new centres will be set up A field centre for locust investigation will also be established The

soil conservation and land development work will be carried out on a more intensive scale. It is proposed to undertake soil conservation work in a concerted manner over 3 million acres of land in areas seriously affected by soil erosion. These measures will be carried out on agricultural lands, ravine lands, waste lands, and in important river valley and hilly regions. In addition, it is proposed to reclaim 1.5 million acres of land and to carry out land improvement measures over an area of 2 million acres through the Central and State Tractor Organisations and other private parties. The area under the Japanese method of paddy cultivation is to be increased during the Plan period from 1.6 million to 4 million acres. Greater attention will also be paid during the Second Five Year Plan to the programme of dry farming and to the introduction of improvements in agricultural implements and cultural practices in general.

Along with the measures for technological improvements, another aspect of agricultural development which will receive greater attention in the Second Plan relates to the institutional arrangements for promoting land use and land management on more efficient lines and for ensuring a greater degree of social justice among those dependent on land. During the Second Five Year Plan period, particular attention will be paid to questions relating to imposition of ceilings on holdings, consolidation

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economic activities, viz , credit marketing, processing, and warehousing and storage has been formulated under the Second Five Year Plan. The target for short-term, medium and long-term credit has been fixed at Rs 150 crores, Rs 50 crores and Rs 25 crores respectively as against Rs 100 crores, Rs 25 crores and Rs 5 crores respectively under the First Plan. As a result of the recent discussions with the State Governments for increasing agricultural production the target for short-term credit may go up still further. A National Co-operative Development and Warehousing Board has also been set up. For warehousing development a Central Warehousing Corporation and 16 State Warehousing Corporations are proposed to be established. Warehouses and godowns with a storage capacity of 2 million tons would be established which would make it possible for the agriculturists to store a sizable part of the marketable surplus of agricultural commodities and at the same time to get short-term credit on the basis of warehouse receipts. Further, during the Second Plan period, the number of regulated markets will be doubled and the scheme for compulsory grading of the produce before export will be extended to a number of agricultural commodities.

National Extension Service and Community Projects will continue to occupy a prominent place in the Second Plan. In fact, the entire country is to

be covered with National Extension Service Blocks during the Second Plan period. The importance attached to this aspect of the development programme will be clear from the fact that a separate Ministry of Community Development has been set up by the Government of India which will work in close co-operation with the Ministry of Agriculture to achieve the higher production targets and for strengthening rural economy in general.

In a country where cattle provide the main draught power for agricultural operations the quality of cattle has a direct bearing on the efficiency of agricultural operations. The development of cattle wealth along proper lines is important also for raising the nutritional level of consumption and for providing to the farmer a supplementary means of gainful employment. In providing for an outlay of Rs. 56 crores for animal husbandry it is expected that during the Second Five Year Plan greater progress will be made in this branch of agriculture than has hitherto been possible. It is mainly through the key village schemes that the programme of livestock improvement is being pursued in the States. This scheme aims at a co-ordinated development in selected areas. It envisages castration of scrub bulls, breeding operations controlled by artificial insemination centres and rearing of calves on a subsidized basis, development of fodder resources and marketing of animal

husbandry products on co operative lines. Already 600 key villages and 150 artificial centres have been established under the First Plan. During the Second Plan, 1,258 key villages, 245 artificial centres and 254 extension centres will be set up. About 1,900 new veterinary dispensaries are also expected to be organized for the treatment of livestock diseases. To relieve the pressure on the limited fodder resources in villages, a scheme for the removal of old and infirm cattle from villages to cattle homes (*gosadans*), to be set up in areas of abundant grazing facilities, has been drawn up.

Although the cattle population in India is large, the amount of milk available for human consumption is comparatively small. The Second Five Year Plan lays down that the general aim should be to achieve an increase of about 30 to 40 per cent in the output of milk over a period of 10 to 12 years in intensively worked areas. In the immediate future, it is proposed to improve the milk supply in urban areas by the establishment of cattle colonies and co operative milk unions. It is also proposed to set up rural creameries and milk drying plants in surplus pockets of the country. The Plan aims at the establishment of 36 urban milk supply schemes, 12 co-operative creameries and 7 milk drying plants. Further to encourage the breeding of high milk yielding animals, a scheme for the establishment of Pedigree Breeding Farms

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An essential part of the programme of efficient land utilization, which is one of our objectives under the Second Five Year Plan, is the development and utilization of forest resources. The importance of forestry programme is enhanced by the fact that with growing urbanization and industrialization the demand for timber and forest products is on the increase. Forests not only provide the raw materials for some of the industries, such as those relating to paper, matchwood and plywood, they are also the source of a number of other minor products like tanning materials, gum, resins and medicinal herbs, some of which are valuable articles of export. Establishment of village plantations for fuel and timber is important, so that cowdung now widely used as fuel will be saved for manurial purposes. Thus forest policy has to be directed, on the one hand, to securing the long range development of forest resources and, on the other, to meeting the increasing demand for timber in the immediate future. As a result of the forestry programme carried out under the First Five Year Plan, vegetative cover has been restored on an area exceeding 75,000 acres, matchwood plantations at the rate of 3,000 acres per year have been raised, forest roads of over 3,000 miles have been constructed and an area of over 20 million acres of forest land held under private ownership or management has been brought under State control. The programme

envisaged for the Second Five Year Plan is much more ambitious in scope. It aims at the rehabilitation of 50 000 acres with the commercially important species like teak 13 000 acres with wattle and blue gum and 2 000 acres with medicinal plants. Another 50 000 acres are to be brought under match wood plantation. It is also proposed to put plantations along canal banks on the roadside avenues on the village waste lands and as shelter belts. The programme also provides for the development of forest roads adoption of better techniques of timber extraction establishment of timber treating and seasoning plants organization of forest resources surveys including a timber trends survey and intensification of forest research. It is proposed to set up a Forestry Commission to coordinate the work of forestry development and management in the country.

In a development programme of the magnitude envisaged under the Second Five Year Plan the importance of having well trained personnel organizing research along proper lines and making the fruits of research available to the cultivators can hardly be over emphasized. Provisions for extension of training facilities and development of research have been made under all the spheres of the agricultural sector relating to agricultural production forestry fisheries, animal husbandry and co operation. The additional training facilities are

being provided by strengthening of existing institutions, opening of new institutions, and in some cases, by the introduction of double shifts. In certain cases, the programme of training had been started even in the last year of the First Plan so that the trained personnel would be available in time for implementing the Second Plan Schemes. The Research Institutes maintained by the Central and State Governments are to be strengthened, with a view to encouraging research at national, regional and local levels. During the Second Five Year Plan, it is proposed to give close attention to the complex of problems which link research with development and also to continue work on fundamental problems. A Joint Indo-American team of specialists was appointed in 1954 with a view to recommending measures for the development of agricultural research and training in the country. The Report of the Committee is under consideration of the Government. Special mention may be made here of the inter-institutional arrangements between Land Grant Colleges in the United States and Agricultural and Veterinary Research and Educational Institutions in India which provide for interchange of staff personnel between Indian and American institutions. Under this programme, thirteen American University staff members were posted during 1956 to work with co-operating Indian institutions and nine Indian staff members have

been selected for advanced training in U S A

The assistance received by India from the United States under T C M has helped in no small measure in the implementation of the development plans in the agricultural sector Particular mention deserves to be made of the projects for import of fertilizers and of iron and steel for agricultural purposes locust control and plant protection installation of tubewells expansion and modernization of marine and inland fisheries improvement of the production and the management of livestock and poultry and lastly the community development programme While these projects directly aided the programme for agricultural production in operation under the First Five Year Plan there are also a number of other projects which have helped in the advancement of research and training and are therefore likely to improve the very base of agriculture in the country Some of the projects are for supply of equipment improved techniques and technicians with a view to determining the performance of various fertilizers on Indian soil for strengthening the Forest Research Institute Dehra Dun for agricultural research and education including agro economic research for assisting the programme of training of village level workers for assisting the Government in exploring the advantages of new types of construction of godowns for the storage of foodgrains in contrast to the conventional

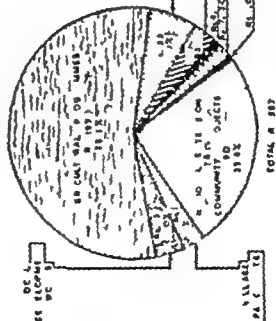
types of storage, for ground water exploration, etc. Provision for training of Indian technicians abroad and interchange of staff, personnel and advanced students between institutions in India and the United States as mentioned before have also been an essential part of the programme. Not only have we received assistance to effect permanent improvement in agriculture, we have also been supplied with agricultural commodities like wheat and cotton which have helped us to meet the increasing requirements in respect of these commodities and thus to prevent undue rise in prices. Such assistance has been twice blessed because it not only provides the commodities needed by the recipient countries, but also relieves the United States Government of surplus agricultural commodities accumulating in that country.

The progress of agricultural development since Independence has been striking. The emphasis placed on agriculture in the First Five Year Plan has been proved to be a step in the right direction. Not only has it strengthened the base of the economy but has made it possible to launch on a bolder plan of development under the Second Five Year Plan. In fact, it can be said without exaggeration, that agricultural development has been the outstanding economic achievement during the period of the First Plan. Under the Second Plan the aim is to ensure a diversified agricultural economy by

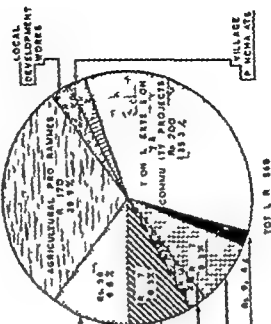
development of animal husbandry dairying fisheries forestry and horticulture This will provide greater employment and incomes in the agricultural sector and help to raise the living standards of the agriculturist

DISTRIBUTION OF PLAN OUTLAY AGRICULTURE & COMMUNITY DEVELOPMENT

FIRST FIVE YEAR PLAN
RUPEES IN CRORES



SECOND FIVE YEAR PLAN
RUPEES IN CRORES



OTE: 1 C O E W O M L L O R

FOODGRAINS IN INDIA

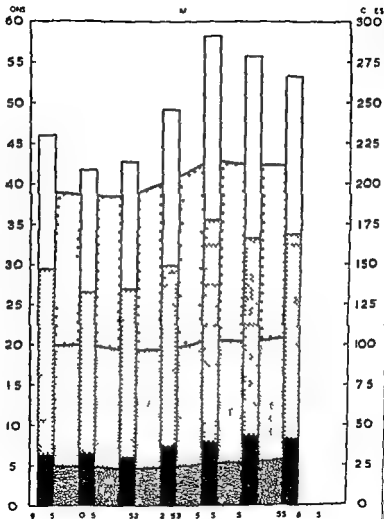
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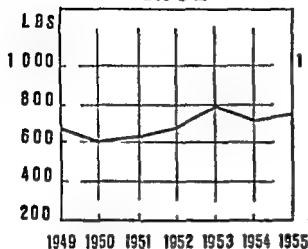


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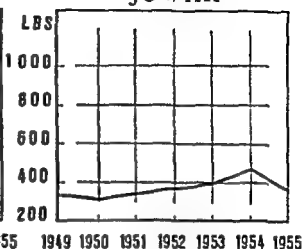


AVERAGE YIELD PER ACRE OF PRINCIPAL CROPS IN INDIA

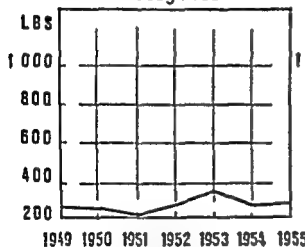
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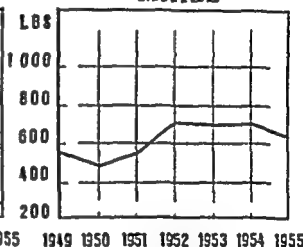
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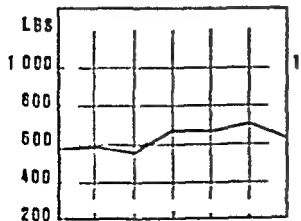
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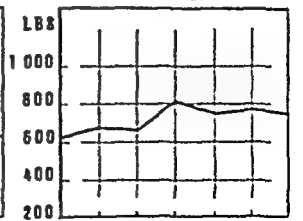
MAIZE



WHEAT

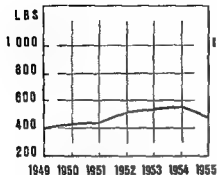


BARLEY

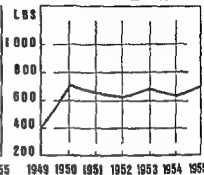


AVERAGE YIELD PER ACRE OF PRINCIPAL CROPS IN INDIA

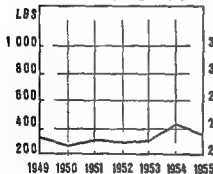
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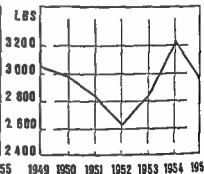
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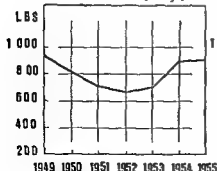
OTHER PULSES



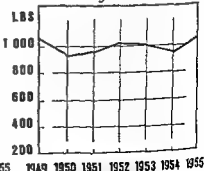
SUGARCANE (Gur)



GINGER (Dry)



JUTE



Industrial Progress in India 1946-1955*

By C N Vakil and B C Desai

The earliest process of industrialisation in India was associated with cotton and jute textiles. Several factors contributed to a rapid growth of these industries. These were exceptional natural advantages in respect of raw material supplies, abundant labour and skill familiarity, pioneering entrepreneurial spirit which turned to these industries, existence of large markets and business contacts with the West in the same lines. During the second quarter of this century, some progress was registered in the sphere of protected industries. The grant of limited protection to the industries manufacturing steel ingots, cotton piecegoods, sugar, matches and paper enabled them partially to withstand foreign competition. Between 1922 and 1939, production of cotton piecegoods and of paper increased by two and a half times each. Production of steel ingots increased by eight times. Between 1932 and 1936, the entire demand for sugar came to be satisfied. Towards the close of the inter-War years, the cement

*For reasons of space this article is confined to a study of the manufacturing output and capacity.

industry was meeting 95 per cent of the then prevalent volume of domestic demand. Large increases occurred in the production of matches glass vana spati soap and some engineering production. A start was made towards the production of electrical engineering goods and services. Taking the pattern of development the consumer goods industries like cotton textiles sugar salt soap leather goods and paper witnessed rapid expansion. In most of these industries productive capacity rose to levels sufficient to meet prevailing domestic demand and in the case of textiles and soap the country developed considerable export markets. The industries manufacturing intermediate producer goods like steel cement power alcohol non ferrous metals chemicals etc were established during the inter War years they recorded impressive growth. Their productive capacity was large compared to most other countries of Asia but inadequate in relation to domestic needs.

During the Second World War new industries manufacturing a variety of consumer and producer goods were set up. Such industries included bicycles sewing machines radios automobile assembling electric plants and domestic appliances ferro alloys non ferrous metals like aluminium and antimony diesel engines and pumps chemicals like soda ash caustic soda chlorine and superphosphates certain types of machine tools and simple machinery. The War provided a major impetus to small scale and

medium-scale industries such as light engineering products, pharmaceuticals, medicines and drugs, cutlery, etc. For established industries, favourable conditions emerged for maximum utilization of existing capacity, but it became impossible to replace worn out plants, equipment and machinery. Higher production was achieved only by intensive utilization of the installed capacity through, for example, a resort to multiple shifts. Intensive utilization of installed capacity increased wear and tear and the War conditions necessitated a postponement of replacement of old machines and equipment to the post-War period when, however, the very much altered conditions generally forced a further postponement. Between 1941 and 1945 industrial structure began to be diversified.

The diversified nature of India's industrial structure is reflected in the numerous industries for which, in 1946, it first became possible to collect production data. Production statistics compiled by the Directorate of Industrial Statistics of the Government of India relate to most organised industries and the Interim Index of industrial production (base year 1946), enables us to assess broad changes in industrial output during 1946-1955.¹ Following is a tabular presentation of production indices for 35 industries

¹ Revised Index of Industrial Production gives much larger coverage but starts with 1951 as base year. We have taken for convenience the Interim Index which covers a longer and for our purpose sufficient period. Vide *Monthly Statistics of the Production of Selected Industries of India for March 1956*. Directorate of Industrial Statistics, Government of India.

INTERIM INDEX OF INDUSTRIAL PRODUCTION
(Base 1946=100)

INDUSTRY	1947	1948	1949	1950	1951	1952	1953	1954	1955
(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)	(6)	(7)	(8)	(9)	(10)
GENERAL INDEX	97.2	108.4	105.7	105.0	117.2	128.9	135.3	146.6	161.5
A Mining and Quarrying									
Coal mining									
1 Coal	103.9	103.2	108.9	110.8	118.8	125.4	124.1	127.3	132.3
B Manufacturing—									
Food Manufacturing—									
turing Industries									
2 Sugar	97.6	116.5	108.5	105.8	120.8	161.9	139.9	109.2	172.8
Manufacture of									
Textiles									
3 Cotton—									
(a) Yarn	94.8	105.9	99.4	85.9	95.4	106.0	110.1	114.2	119.5
(b) Cloth	96.2	110.5	99.9	93.8	104.3	117.7	124.8	127.9	130.3
(c) Total	95.8	109.0	99.7	91.1	101.3	113.8	119.9	123.3	126.7
4 Jute	96.6	100.2	84.8	76.8	80.4	87.4	79.8	85.2	94.3
5 Woollen manufactures	88.9	74.1	77.8	66.9	65.5	61.4	71.3	74.3	—

Manufacture of Wood and Cork									
6 Plywood									
(Ten chests and commercial)	58 3	91 4	81 0	85 4	120 5	154 0	104 1	132 3	187 8
Manufacture of Paper and Paper Products									
7 Paper and paper boards	87 8	92 4	97 4	102 7	124 4	129 7	131 8	146 5	174 4
Manufacture of Chemicals and Chemical Products									
8 Sulphuric acid	100 0	133 3	165 8	170 8	178 2	160 1	181 8	251 5	275 1
9 Caustic soda	114 3	151 1	217 3	374 0	507 7	588 2	789 7	1010 6	1181 1
10 Soda ash	113 5	242 9	149 3	364 9	396 1	369 4	473 9	402 4	643 9
11 Chlorine liquid	113 7	120 0	176 6	264 7	351 2	415 9	542 1	652 1	770 3
12 Bleaching powder	127 5	141 8	123 4	165 5	179 2	39 6	97 2	146 3	134 9
13 Bichromates	110 8	141 2	82 7	94 9	157 2	70 3	120 6	155 6	140 7
14 Superphosphates	111 1	474 6	1038 3	1165 2	1356 0	1036 7	1073 2	2334 6	1598 2
15 Ammonium sulphate	94 7	156 8	204 5	210 6	234 7	980 9	1423 1	1514 9	1750 3

INDUSTRY	1947	1948	1949	1950	1951	1952	1953	1954	1955
16 Paints and varnishes	100 5	93 0	80 5	72 8	87 2	83 8	83 5	95 9	99 8
17 Matches	113 0	129 4	127 8	127 0	140 3	150 1	150 0	128 4	146 8
Manufacture of Non metallic Mineral Products									
18 Sheet glass	65 5	71 6	39 5	109 5	126 9	103 5	260 8	379 1	446 3
19 Cement	93 9	100 7	136 3	169 5	207 2	229 3	245 1	285 1	285 6
20 Ceramics (Refractories)	112 0	120 8	133 1	150 7	151 7	155 6	145 6	152 8	174 1
Basic Metal Industries—Iron and Steel									
21 Steel ingots and metal for castings	97 1	97 1	104 6	111 2	116 0	122 0	116 5	130 2	131 8
Non ferrous Metals									
22 Aluminium	99 4	103 9	107 8	111 1	118 9	110 2	116 2	151 0	223 3
23 Copper (virgin metal)	94 0	92 9	101 3	104 8	112 2	96 3	78 0	113 5	115 4

Manufacture of
Metal Products,
except Machinery
and Transport
Equipment

24 Hurricane Interns	1936	2083	3677	5972	8461	7496	9175	10611	11304
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Manufacture of
Machinery, except
Electrical Machines

25 Diesel engines	1448	2167	4389	9717	15319	8979	7856	18296	21233
26 Sewing machines	957	3271	4089	5047	7264	8176	10198	13102	16578
27 Machine tools	503	600	518	292	518	486	483	548	815

Manufacture of
Electrical Machines,
Apparatus, Applian-
ces and Supplies

28 Dry cells	999	1408	1730	1571	1626	1440	1687	1600	1410
29 Storage batteries	2447	4050	652	6914	747	1141	6414	6040	404

INDUSTRY	1947	1948	1949	1950	1951	1952	1953	1954	1955
30 Electric motors	828	1307	1484	1782	3111	3434	3540	4089	5488
31 Power transformers	821	2103	2790	4408	5003	5508	7905	10236	14482
32 Electric lamps	939	1139	1681	1763	1913	2573	2436	2844	2987
33 Electric fans	1449	1630	1621	1754	1925	1771	1809	2164	2557
Manufacture of Transport Equipment									
34 Bicycles	741	1290	1499	2400	2659	4582	6146	8663	11427
C Electricity Gas and Steam—Elec- tric Light and Power									
35 Electricity Generated (simple net percentage change with 1946=100)	47	176	261	312	505	572	702	911	974

What impressions do we get from the industrial output? The general picture for 1949 and 1950, a continuation of the trend and the rate of rise has been rapid during three years. From 97.2 in 1947 (with a general decline in the level of production compared to 1946) the general index rose to 100 in 1951. In 1952, there was a general decline, but in 1953 only of about 7 per cent. From 1953 onwards, increase in the industrial output has been quite large. 11 and 15 per cent in 1954 and 1955 respectively. The output of industrial goods during 1956 has been higher than during the preceding year. The index of industrial production stood at 117 in February, 1956, the highest ever attained in the entire decade under review.

When we examine the course of changes in individual industries, we are struck by significant developments. Eleven out of 35 industries listed above, show uninterrupted though rates of rise in output. These are cement, paper, paper boards, caustic soda, chlorine liquid, aluminium sulphate, sewing machines, electric power transformers, bicycles, coal and electricity. Among the rest most industries have shown an increase in output after 1953 coinciding with the commencement of a period of stability and long-term

expansionary outlook Among the industries other than 11 mentioned above capital goods industries generally show increasing output with occasional breaks Even when output declined it rarely fell below the 1946 level Noteworthy increases in output occurred especially after 1950 in some cases and 1953 in others in sulphuric acid soda ash superphosphates sheet glass diesel engines and storage batteries But at the same time it must be noted that certain engineering and chemical industries like machine tools diesel engines dry cells storage batteries electric fans hurricane lanterns bleaching powder bichromates sulphuric acid soda ash and paints and varnishes suffered a conspicuous contraction in output after 1951 compared with the respective levels of output in the years immediately preceding thus giving rise to a phenomenon of acute under utilization of installed capacity

In the group of consumer goods industries those which have recorded impressive growth include hurricane lanterns electric lamps and electric fans In the textile group cotton yarn and cloth showed increases in output above the 1946 level only during and/or after 1951 while jute and woollen manufactures have so far never reached the 1946 level of output (save in the case of jute in 1948) Sugar like cotton textiles began a continuously rising trend

in output from 1951. Matches and paper have shown a mixed trend and so have textiles, in which case, however, the level of output has not exceeded the 1946 level until 1951.

Production of steel ingots and metal castings declined in the years following the last Five Year Plan, began to rise gradually until about 1952. There was a decline in 1953 compared to 1952, but during 1954 and 1955 substantial increases were recorded. Production levels in aluminium show about the same type of changes as steel, except that in the last two years much larger increases in output have occurred. Production of copper (virgin metal) has for the most part remained either below or when higher, very near to the 1946 level, although it increased more during 1954 and 1955. In relation to the targets of production set in the First Five Year Plan, actual achievement has not been uniform. In the case of cotton textiles, sugar, vegetable oils, cement, paper, soda ash, caustic soda, rayon, electric transformers, bicycles, and sewing machines (as also petroleum refining), levels of production have been reached at the end of the Plan period which are more or less equal to, or in excess of, the targets. On the other hand, apart from the short falls in respect of iron and steel, aluminium, machine tools and fertilizers due to the failure to install the necessary capacity, the expected levels of output have

In analysing the nature of industrial change during these ten years it is pertinent to reflect on the problems faced by industries before the First Plan was launched and the difference which the Plan made. It is of course impossible to go into the details of every individual industry. Only broad outlines will therefore be given.

Industries were faced with various problems immediately after the War and the Partition only aggravated them. Shortage of raw materials was an important problem. Inadequate internal production of steel coupled with the high price of imported steel put a brake on the expansion of a number of other industries for which steel served as a raw material. Several industries e.g. the jute cotton textile paper and plywood industries were partially cut off by Partition from the sources of supply of raw materials. Quite a lot were handicapped by the country's deficiency in non ferrous metals and others which depended on sulphuric acid as a raw material by the world shortage of sulphur. One important emphasis that the Plan had therefore to give in formulating a scheme of priorities was in the direction of augmenting the raw materials supply for industries. It cannot be said that this problem has been satisfactorily solved. True for established industries like cotton and jute textiles and sugar the gaps between their raw material

requirements and domestic production have been considerably reduced. But that cannot be said about a number of producer goods industries which depend upon the expansion of complementary industries. While the domestic expansion in the supplies of raw materials has not been commensurate with the rate of increase in the requirements, the pressure on foreign exchange exercised by the large imports of machinery and equipment has not helped to ease the situation. It is necessary that import control should be so exercised that a proper balance is established between the essential raw material imports and imports of machinery and other articles so as to minimize the eventualities of payment of exceptionally high prices for imported raw materials or of forced postponement or reduction of industrial output dependent on imported raw materials. It is a fallacy to suppose that imports of machines and equipment should have a logical priority over imports of vital raw materials or skills. Cases may not be lacking which would justify a rapid expansion of industries dependent on imports of vital raw materials or skills and which produce machines used by other industries which are importing those machines.

While attention was certainly devoted to the solution of the question of scarcity of raw materials, another impeding obstacle in the form of lack of

cent of the target. At the end of the Plan period therefore a considerable volume of arrears remained to be made up. It should be noted here that the estimates of requirements on account of replacement and modernisation were necessarily rough and were possibly pitched high for individual industries for want of detailed data. But this explanation is not sufficient. To some extent government policies which indirectly affected the market share of units having large replacement problems may not have enthused them to undertake the replacement programme. It is stated that uncertainty about the market prospects for the factory sector in these industries which also include a protected non factory sector is partly responsible for a slow pace of modernisation. Such a view however requires to be supported by detailed evidence which is not easy to produce.

The background of the First Five Year Plan was the atmosphere of scarcity especially of food grains and other agricultural commodities. The economy at that time was still in the process of adjustment necessitated by economic dislocations caused by the War and the disturbance that followed the Partition. The major investment and organisational effort under the First Plan therefore had to be directed to relieve the pressure which emanated from the shortages of basic supplies like food grains.

and cloth and transport. This explains why the State's direct share in the initiation and participation of industrial progress was limited mostly to the schemes it had already in hand prior to the Plan. It also explains the comparatively modest targets set for new investment in the industrial field and the scheme of priorities which was as follows: (1) Fuller utilization of existing capacity in producer goods industries like jute and plywood and consumer goods industries like cotton textiles, sugar, soap, vanaspati, paints and varnishes, (2) Expansion of capacity in capital and producer goods industries like iron and steel, aluminium, cement, fertilizers, heavy chemicals, machine tools, etc., (3) Completion of industrial units on which a part of the capital expenditure had already been incurred, and (4) Establishment of new plants which would lend strength to the industrial structure by rectifying as far as resources permit the existing lacunae and drawbacks, e.g., manufacture of sulphur from gypsum, chemical pulp for rayon, etc.¹

¹ During the First Plan period the output of food grains was expected to rise by approximately 7.5 million tons. It actually increased by 11 million tons. Higher than targeted output was realised also in the case of oilseeds, sugar-cane, cotton and jute. The increased output of agricultural commodities was reflected in the index of agricultural output which registered a rise to 115 at the end of 1955-56 (base year 1949-50=100).

² Compare the order of priorities envisaged for the Second Five Year Plan (under which the main emphasis will be on the expansion of capital and producer goods industries).

(i) Increased production of iron and steel and of heavy chemicals including nitrogenous fertilizers and development of the heavy engineering and machine building industries.

New Investments by Industries	Estimate under First Plan (Rs in crores)	Estimated Investment Effected
Metallurgical industries (iron and steel aluminium lead etc)	85 0	61 0
Petroleum refining	64 0	45 0
Chemical industries (heavy chemicals and fertilizers drugs and pharmaceuticals dyestuffs and plastics)	26 0	27 0
Engineering industries (heavy and light)	53 0	46 0
Cotton textiles	9 0	20 0 ⁴
Sugar industry	0 1	5 0
Rayon textiles (including staple fibre and chemical pulp)	16 5	8 0
Cement	17 7	17 5
Paper and paper board including newsprint	7 4	12 0
Electric power generation and distribution (in the private sector)	16 0	37 6
Others	32 3	18 9
Total	327 0	293 0

The shortfall has mainly occurred in the iron and steel aluminium and machine tools industries and the effects of this shortfall are reflected in the failure of these industries to achieve the scheduled targets of capacity and production. The following table shows the lack of correspondence between the targets and achievements in these and other selected industries as well as the extent of progress realised during the years 1950-51—1955-56.

⁴ Overall investment inclusive of minor equipments replacements and modernisations estimated at Rs 80 crores. See Programmes of Industrial Development 1956-61 Planning Commission p (v)

CAPACITY AND PRODUCTION IN SELECTED INDUSTRIES TARGETED AND ACTUALS
ESTIMATED AS ACHIEVED UNDER THE FIRST PLAN(All organised industries on which the data for the following columns are available
have been selected)

Industries	Unit	RATED CAPACITY		Percentage of column (4) to column (3)		PRODUCTION		Percentage of column (7) to column (6)
		Targets for 1955-56	Levels estimated achieved by 1955-56			Targets for 1955-56	Levels estimated achieved by 1955-56	
(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)	(6)	(7)	(8)	
A Metallurgical Industries								
1 Iron & Steel								
(i) Pig iron for foundries	000 tons		380		750	380		
(ii) Finished steel (main producers only)	000 tons	1 650 (1)	1,300		1 650 (1)	1,300		
2 Aluminium	Tons	20 000	7,500	37.5	12,000	7,500		62.5

(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)	(6)	(7)	(8)
B Mechanical Engineering Industries							
3 Industrial machinery—							
(a) Cotton textiles							
(i) Carding engines	Numbers	600	792	132	600	649 (1955)	108 (approx)
(ii) Spinning							
ring frames		800	1 596	199	700	863 (1955)	99 (approx)
(iii) Looms		8 000	4 980	62 25	6 000	2 787 (1955)	47 (approx)
(b) Machine tools							
		4 600			4 600 (Rs 5 crores)	(Rs 1 crore)	
4 Railway rolling stock							
(i) Locomotives			170		438 (51 56) (b)	500 (51 56) (b)	114

(ii) Wagons	Numbers	15 000	30 000 (51-56) (b)	41 966 (51-56) (b)	140
(iii) Passenger coaches	.	1 100	4 380 (51-56) (b)	4 384 (51-56) (b)	100
5 Shipbuilding	GRT		100,000 (51-56)	50 000 (51-56)	50
6 Automobile and allied industries— (i) Automobiles (manufacturing only)	Numbers	30 000	29,000	25 000	83.3
7 Ball and roller bearings	000 nos	1 200	600	1,200	75
8 Agricultural implements & machinery (i) Power driven pumps	000 nos	69	67	80-85	12
(ii) Diesel engines	Numbers	39,725	20 000 (100 000 H.P.)	50 000 (100 000 H.P.)	20

(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)	(6)	(7)	(8)
9 Bicycles	000 nos	530	760	143.4	530	550	104
10 Sewing machines		91.5	46.5	50.8	91.5	110	120
11 Hurricane lanterns		4 500	5 000	111	6 000	5 400	90
12 Grinding wheels	Tons	840	1 520	181	750-800	800	100
C Electrical Engineering Industries							
13 Electric transformers (33 K.V. & below)	000 KVA	485	657	135.5	450	629	140
14 Electric motors (200 H P and below)	000 H P	300	263	87.6	320	271	115
15 Electric cables and wires (A.C.S.R. conduc	Tons	5 000	13 370	268	5 000	8 730	174

(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)	(6)	(7)	(8)
22 Heavy chemicals—							
(i) Sulphuric acid	000 tons	221	242	109.5	200	170	85
(ii) Soda ash		86	90	105	78	80	101
(iii) Caustic soda		37	44	118	33	36	109
23 Drugs & pharmaceuticals—							
(i) Penicillin	Million mega units	4.8	12.5	260.4	4.8	6.6	137.5
(ii) D D T	Tons	700	700	100	700	172 (1955)	24.6 (approx.)
(iii) Benzene hexachloride		500	2,500	500	500	1,603 (1955)	320.6
24 Paints and varnishes							
(i) Ready mixed paints							
varnishes & enamels		70,000	65,000	92.8	60,000	39,000	65

(ii) Nitro-cellulose lacquers	000 gallons	350	800	229	300	300	100
25 Soap	000 tons	280	340	121.4	200	200	100
26 (i) Paper and paper boards		211	210	100	200	200	100
(ii) Newsprint		30	30	100	27	42	15.5
27 Cement	Million tons	5.3	4.9	75.4	4.8	4.6	95.8
28 Glass and glassware—							
(i) Sheet glass	000 tons	52.2	291	100 (approx.)	26		
(ii) Blown ware & pressed ware							
29 Petroleum products	"	237.8			137.5 to 142.5	125	
	Million tons (of crude pressed)	20	3 625	170	403 (d)	36	
30 Power and industrial alcohol—							
i) Power alcohol	Million gallons	21	51	71.4	18	10	55.5

(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)	(6)	(7)	(8)
(ii) Industrial alcohol	Million gallons	3 (c)	12 (e)	400	2 (e)	5	
E Textile Industries							
31 Cotton							
(i) Yarn	Million lbs	1 722	1 840 (f)	107 (approx)	1 640	1 630 (1955)	100 (approx)
(ii) Cloth							
(a) Mill	Million yds	4 779	4 950 (f)	104 (approx)	4 700	5 100 (1955)	108.5 (approx)
(b) Hand loom							
32 Jute	000 tons	1 200	1 200	100	1 700	1 480 (1955)	122.3 (approx)
33 Rayon and staple fibre—					1 200	1 150	96
(i) Rayon filament	Million lbs	22.0	22.3	100			
(ii) Staple fibre		11.2	16	143	22	15.7	71.3
					11.2	13.2	118

F Timber Industries

34 Matches	Million gross boxes	38 3	35 3	92	32 0	91
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35 Plywood—

(i) Plywood tea-chest	Million				90	
(ii) Com ply wood	sq feet	180 to 190	150 6	80	20	110

G Food Industries

36 Salt	Million mds		83 73	84		100
37 Sugar	000 tons	1,550	1,740	111	1,820	121
38 Vinaspali	"	389	445	114	270	90

(a) By 1957 58

(b) Entire plan period

(c) Including the decentralised sector

(d) Liquid petroleum products in million gallons

(e) Refers to power alcohol distilleries only

(f) As on January, 1956

It is apparent that a number of industries have either achieved or exceeded the targets of capacity and/or production. The industries whose performance can be said to be satisfactory or excellent on the basis of the above results include manufacture of carding engines and spinning ring frames, railway rolling stock, bicycles, hurricane lanterns, grinding wheels, electric transformers, electric cables and wires, soda ash and caustic soda, penicillin, benzene, hexachloride, nitro cellulose, lacquers, soap, paper and paper boards, petroleum, cotton textiles, jute, staple fibre and sugar. At the same time, however, the above figures reveal that on the one hand, in respect of the manufacture of looms for cotton mills, shipbuilding, power driven pumps, diesel engines, dry batteries, DDT and newsprint, the levels of output achieved by the end of the P period have been below 50 per cent of the target; on the other, the shortfall in respect of the corresponding targets of capacity of each of them (which data are available) is much smaller. In contrast, becomes more glaring when we study targets of capacity in relation to the levels of realised output (notwithstanding the fact that capacity plans must be based on long term considerations). On this basis, the substantial lack of correspondence is evident also in the case of aluminium, machine tools, storage batteries, radio receivers, phosphatic sulphuric acid, ready mixed paints, varnishes and enamels, power alcohol and vanaspathi. This shows

that the plans about creation of capacity in these industries were subsequently not supported by the rate of increase in the demand for their output or, on the supply side, by the rate of diminution in the magnitude of obstacles to the flow of output from them. In other words, the plans regarding capacity were not correctly formulated, or the rate of immediate increase in demand was exaggerated or the difficulties in the way of using the capacity brought into existence were minimised.

In addition to the capacity and production targets, export targets were fixed for the older industries like cotton textiles (1,000 million yards), jute (1 million tons), vegetable oils (170 thousand tons), cement and sheet glass, as well as for new industries like bicycles, sewing machines, batteries (storage and dry cells), electric fans, hurricane lanterns, rayon fabrics, and rare earth compounds. Actual progress was 13 per cent and 11 per cent less in cotton and jute textiles respectively. Export of cement was negligible because of high domestic demand and that of sheet glass was also small because of the uneconomical structure of the industry, for which the high cost of soda ash was partly responsible. In new engineering industries like sewing machines, electric fans and hurricane lanterns the actual progress was far below the targets envisaged for each of them.

We have earlier referred to the process of diversification witnessed in the industrial sector. This

process is certainly important and its full benefits will not be evident immediately. But our observation of the trends would be incomplete without a mention of the unbalanced character of recent industrial growth. The phenomenon of excess capacity which became prominent soon after the Korean War boom ended and which as yet has by no means left us is the most important symptom of the lack of balanced growth. The method of planning that we have adopted in order to solve the basic problem of a low rate of economic growth cannot be said to have succeeded until such maladies as the unbalanced expansion in different industries (as well as in different sectors) have been reduced to reasonable proportions or have been eliminated.

Certain calculations made by us show that under utilization of installed capacity has been one of the most important problems that faced Indian industries during the period under review especially during the seven year period 1948-54 (both inclusive). If we consider the extent of unutilized capacity upward of 30 per cent for more than any two out of the seven years 1948 to 1954 as an evidence of the post Independence imbalance between the capacity of our industries to produce and the economy's demand (or capacity) to absorb the maximum output that can be produced with the aid of that capacity a large number of industries were actually the victims of such industrial imbalance. In this connection the following figures are noteworthy

PERCENTAGE OF UNUTILIZED CAPACITY IN INDIAN INDUSTRIES 1948-1954

INDUSTRY	1948	1949	1950	1951	1952	1953	1954
(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)	(6)	(7)	(8)
I Producer and Capital Goods Industries							
1 Jute			25.7		-	28	
2 Plywood	14.7	52.4	63.8	52.8	41	62	46
3 Sulphuric acid	19.9	33.7	31.7	46.7	49.9	42.3	23.2
4 Soda ash	4.6	6.9	1.9	12	18	7	21
5 Crustic soda	63.5	53.3	43	46.6	51	40	20.7
6 Chlorine liquid	9.6	5.2	39.3	59.7	53.8	55.7	46.5
7 Bleaching powder	4.5	5.2	36.7	54	90	75	62
8 Bichromates	46.6	68.9	64	41	75	57.6	45
9 Superphosphates	71.5	48	61	64.6	76.4	75	50
10 Ammonium sulphate	-	-		87.7	49	25	20.3
11 Copper sulphate	7.5	73.6	7.5	70.8	82.7	74	57.5
12 Sodium sulphate			-	-	82	66.3	55.7
13 Glycerine (refined)	32	4.5	36.5	16	37.5	28.7	32
14 Cement	26.6	25.3	16.4	11	6.8	9.7	1
15 Asbestos (cement sheets)	0	14.3	1.8	29.6	25.5	46.6	41
16 Sheet glass	-		5.6	45.6	79.6	70	67.3

INDUSTRY	1948	1949	1950	1951	1952	1953	1954
17 Pig iron			163				117
18 Steel ingots and metal for casting							
19 Finished steel			68	27 (-)	25	23 (-)	92
20 Steel tubes		922	39			52	277
21 Aluminium	16	128	952	949	99	987	
22 Wood screws	786	56	10	38	108	6	302
23 Machine screws			242	49	60	47 (-)	14
24 Diesel engines					553	622	483
25 Calico looms	745	548	134 (-)	37	328	72	404
26 Complete ring spinning frames				303	45	422	563
27 Grinding wheels				233	273	485	482
28 Dry cells	128	186		21	227	28	55
29 Storage batteries	587	60	25	223	338	33	33
30 Electric motors	60	66	37	332	548	497	35
31 Power transformers	534	51	456	63	216	186	66
			364	348	292	59 (-)	18
II Durable Consumer Goods Industries							
32 Hurricane lanterns	247	86	22	66	201	59 (-)	88
33 Sewing machines	166	12	176 (-)	186 (-)	206 (-)	504 (-)	933
34 Electric lamps	355	242	379	327	197	323	21

35 Domestic refrigerators	-	-	-	83.3	69.3	72
36 Electric fans	27.9	40.4	30.6	23.7	34.4	21.4
37 Radio receivers	(-)	4.2	42.6	5.1	63.2	63.9
38 Automobiles	-	72.1	81.3	71.5	80.3	72.7
39 Bicycles	41.6	32.2	14	4.8 (-) 64	36.7	14.6

III Consumer Goods Industries

40 Sugar	16.5	23.1	12.2 (-)	10.1	38.6	70
41 Wheat flour	-	-	61.8	61.1	68.3	-
42 Vegetable oil production (Vanaspathi)	40	45.2	46.3	17	43.8	37.5
43 Cigarettes	27.3	27.0	21.2	28.5	24.2	18.4
44 Cotton yarn	-	-	29.3	-	14.5	-
45 Cotton cloth (mill made)	-	-	21.6	-	0.3	-
46 Woollen manufactures	33.3	30.3	40	11.5	3.8	9.7
47 Leather footwear (Western type)	-	-	39.9	23	28.7	44.4
48 Rubber footwear	40.7	25.6	35.5	21	35.8	24.3
49 Paper and paper boards	6.8	6.2	9.3	3.7	7.5	10
50 Paints and varnishes	-	-	53.4	48.3	50.4	43.2

INDUSTRY	1948	1949	1950	1951	1952	1953	1954
51 Matches	33.4	34.2	34.6	18.6	12.2	12.5	25
52 Soap			63.5	56.5	55.4	57.5	54.7

The above data suggest the following
Number of years for which unutilized capacity exceeded 30 per cent

(1) For all the 7 years from 1948 to 1954

(2) For any 6 years out of the seven

(3) For any 5 years

(4) For any 4 years

(5) For any 3 years

(6) For any 2 years

Industries

Bleaching powder Bichromates Superphosphates
Copper sulphate Storage batteries
Vegetable oil products (Vanaspathi)
Plywood Caustic soda Automobiles
Sulphuric acid Chlorine liquid Glycerine
Sheet glass Steel tubes Wood screws Diesel engines
Radio receivers Wheat flour
Paints and varnishes Soap
Calico looms Power transformers Electric lamps
Electric fans Rubber footwear
Sodium sulphate Machine screws Dry cells
Electric motors Domestic refrigerators Bicycles
Woollen manufactures Matches
Soda ash Ammonium sulphate Asbestos
Complete ring spinning frames Leather footwear

In contrast to the foregoing, a few industries provide instances of fuller utilization of capacity, and in some cases resort to multiple shifts. Thus, in respect of cement, aluminium, hurricane lanterns, sewing machines, and paper and paperboards, production always remained above 70 per cent of the capacity through the seven years since 1948. Further, it is noteworthy that in some industries, resort to multiple shifts resulted in the production exceeding the capacity, e.g., sugar during 1951, cotton cloth during 1953 (when under-utilization was a negligible 0.3 per cent), hurricane lanterns during 1954, sewing machines during 4 consecutive years of 1951 and 1954 (with the rate of over-utilization continuously increasing), bicycles during 1952 (though unutilized capacity in the year following was 36.7 per cent), steel ingots and metal for casting during 1952 and 1954 (during 1953 there was only 2.3 per cent of unutilized capacity), semi-finished steel during 1954, wood screws during 1954, diesel engines during 1951, and, finally power transformers during 1954.

Though figures are not available for all the seven years certain industries are known to have worked above 70 per cent of their respective capacities during *all* the years for which data are available. Thus production of steel ingots and metal for casting remained above 70 per cent of available capacity for all the five years for which data are available.

Similarly in respect of grinding wheels for all the four years finished steel for three years pig iron jute textiles cotton yarn and cloth all for two years and semi finished steel for one year

In so far as excess capacity in some industries will permit in future a faster rate of supply of industrial products which would in fact be required we may concede that from a long term standpoint such excess capacity would justify itself This however is not a justification for ignoring the type of haphazard growth in industrial capacity revealed in the official statistics of installed capacity and production in various industries and as measured in calculations presented above It is not merely a fairly long period during which several industries suffered from substantial idle capacity What is alarming and also reflective of the small size of the market for producer goods is the large number of industries manufacturing producer and capital goods which have so suffered

Most of the industries falling under the category of producer and capital goods industries came into existence during the last war and post war period They have had little time to stabilize their position Many of them have had little experience of a buyer's

Under this category alone 10 industries worked below 30 per cent capacity for a period of 5 months or more in the case of one industry years in the case of 3 and 1 year in the case of 4 duties 17 producer goods industries suffered from excess capacity between 50 to 70 per cent for a rate ranging from 4 years in the case of one to 1 year in the case of 4 For varying lengths of time 21 industries worked with excess capacity of 30 to 50 per cent and 18 industries with that of 10 to 30 per cent.

market which emerged after the end of the Korean War boom. They overestimated the level of demand, while their excessive reliance on immunity from overseas competition as well as their insufficient attention to standards and quality combined to work against them at a time when experienced foreign firms were allowed access to the Indian market for howsoever a short-time and when consumers of their products, reigning in a buyers market, insisted on quality and standard products.

Apart from these disabling factors, it is worthwhile pointing to a technological fault which partly is a result of socio economic forces. Having failed to witness an early industrial start, there is in India a tendency to do too many things too soon. There is, hence, no patience to wait for the rise of ancillary industries which increase industrial diversification and inter-dependence among independent units. Instead, there is a tendency to foster the growth of a series of processes to take place under the same roof. This has resulted in our sacrificing the gains out of economy and quality, and in a rise in costs and limitation to the extent of complex interdependence which characterise industrially advanced countries. This is well exemplified by the automobile industry whose figures of under-utilization of capacity are 1949 -72, 1950 -83, 1951 -71.5, 1952 -78.4, 1953 -80.3 and 1954 -72.7. For 1955

it was 55.6. Capacity* itself has progressively declined. From 6,521 automobiles at the end of each of the years 1949, 1950 and 1951, it declined to 5,892 by the end of 1952 and 1953, again to 4,416 by the end of 1954, and further to 4,333 by the end of 1955. At the end of the first quarter of 1956, the capacity was 3,600. Production for the entire period 1949 to 1955 remained well below 2,000 automobiles per month, the two lowest figures being 1,160 in 1953 and 1,205 in 1954. Further innovation in Indian industries, it may be suggested, could be more usefully combined with a more energetic effort to foster small and medium size but independent and specialised units, which incidentally would be in accordance with the expert recommendation such as has been made by the Ford Foundation Team and would be in line with the Government's declared policy of encouraging smaller units of control.

Excess capacity may arise for other reasons also. To some extent capacity in existence may exceed the level of utilization on account of the business necessity to keep some reserve capacity as well as due to the technological impossibility of striking a precise balance between the pace of expansion in capacity and the rate of increase in demand. In industries which apparently offer long term expansionary prospects, capacity may very well precede

* Capacity is calculated in terms of output. The figures of output refer to the monthly averages.

growth in demand. However, divergence between expectations and results will also lead to excess capacity. Thus, business firms may overestimate the rate of increase in demand and their individual shares in aggregate demand. If numerous firms so overestimate their individual shares in total demand, their total effort may land the industry in a situation in which productive capacity would exceed the level necessary to meet maximum demand currently prevailing or likely to emerge in the foreseeable future. Such excess capacity must necessarily be regarded as a serious symptom of unbalance in the industrial structure, since the expectations which brought such capacity into existence do not necessarily have firm relevance to the size of the market. At a time when productive factors in short supply are to be employed to yield immediately maximum possible output, the planning authorities must thoroughly study the factors which lead to the persistence of idle capacity in individual industries, in order to arrive at appropriate remedies.

There are, of course, certain offsetting considerations. The value of created capacity, particularly in new industries, is not to be judged merely on a quantitative basis. Industrial capacity in certain spheres may for some years have to face apparently shrinking markets. In some cases the total capacity is not yet very large while in others idle capacity may eventually turn out to be a blessing. Growth

in productive capacity in post Independence India is not yet very important from the viewpoint of output and much less for purposes of employment. Its qualitative significance however is great. By supplying complementary or critical products it helps in filling the industrial gaps which exist or might later on emerge. It must be pointed out however, that a planned utilization of available resources involves exploration of possibilities of utilizing available capacity towards a rapid filling up of critical gaps in the industrial structure and taking steps for preventing wasteful growth of idle capacity. The planning authorities must visualise in advance how best to co ordinate the working of industries complementary to one another. It should not be left to individual enterprises to discover by trial and error that though founded for dissimilar reasons they turn out to be complementary to one another in respect of raw materials or end products or that they share a mutual interest in a total market.

Statistical studies create a picture of precise achievement which does not fully obtain in reality. Of course they broadly enlighten us on the extent and direction of change and this in itself is useful. But their values are often historical and when changes occur contemporarily in many directions a mere quantitative picture would be incomplete without knowing the qualitative side. However, the very scattered and constantly changing nature

of qualitative information prevents the perception of the nature of industrial change which would be both clear as well as permanently valid. Suffice it to note here that while considerable quantitative industrial expansion has occurred, the more important gain on the industrial front has been qualitative in character. Indeed, India's outstanding achievement in the decade following Independence seems to lie in the successful attempt to create the industrial base for a dynamic change of the entire economy. From what was essentially a stagnant economy before, there now seems a certainty that rapid industrial advance will be possible in future. The decade under review marks a transition of the economy from a stage when the manufacturing sector in the total economy was negligible, to a stage when, next to agriculture, it is likely to be the most significant. And within the manufacturing sector, there has occurred a growth of investment in new industries which supply new products or replace, wholly or partly, the imported goods. The volume of output of new industries is as yet small. But they have begun helping the process of a deepening interdependence both among individual industries as well as among the different sectors of the national economy.

During these ten years political democracy has been consolidated and social stability enhanced. Unless there is a major war or external aggression,

these advances will help industries expand in response to the planned requirement. And a continual industrial expansion would help in laying the foundations from which can flow economic democracy without which neither political democracy nor social stability can be secure.

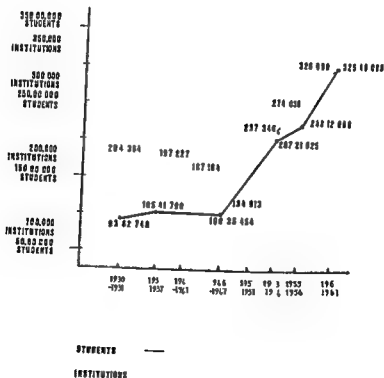
Progress in Education During the First Decade of Independence

By Hansa Mehta

It is not my purpose to give a detailed account of the educational progress made in India during the first ten years of Independence. I shall rather attempt a general survey of the advance made in the educational field and some of the factors which helped this advance. It should not be forgotten that while India became free on the Fifteenth August, 1947, it really settled down to work after Twenty-sixth January, 1950, when its Constitution was finally adopted and came into force. The first three years of Independence were critical years, what with the happenings in the Punjab and elsewhere in the country, and the problems that arose as aftermath of partition. India came through this ordeal strong and united, and it was this newly acquired strength that inspired confidence in herself and made her advance so rapid and phenomenal in every direction.

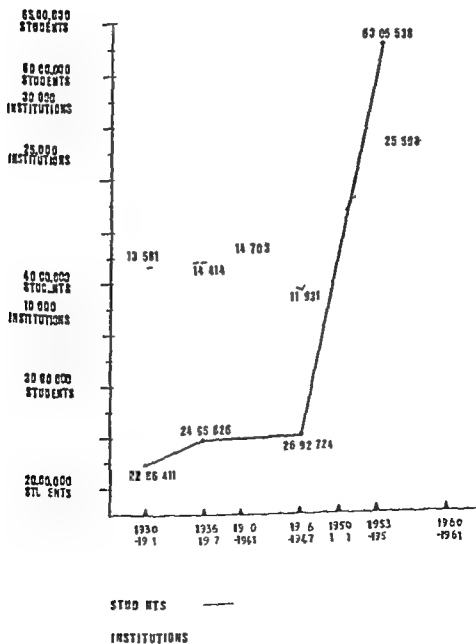
In the educational field the statistics give a very impressive picture indeed. From the graphic charts accompanying this chapter, it will be seen how the number of students and institutions has increased

**PRIMARY EDUCATION
IN INDIA**
with ATTENDANCE 1930-1954
(Projected to 1961)



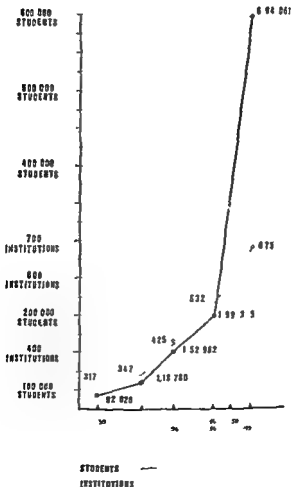
SECONDARY EDUCATION IN INDIA

with ATTENDANCE, 1930-1954



UNIVERSITIES & COLLEGES IN INDIA

with ATTENDANCE 1930-1954



It is also significant to note the difference between the rate of increase during the immediate five years of pre-Independence period and that of the first five years of the post-Independence period. This comparison shows that the rate of increase is more than normal during the post-Independence period. Several factors are responsible for this situation.

The struggle for India's political freedom was also a struggle to remove India's poverty and ignorance. Indian leaders had long ago placed their finger on the two black spots on the body social of India, which impeded her progress. Shri Dadabhai Navroji spoke of India's poverty and Shri Gopal Krishna Gokhale championed the cause of education. As a legislator he brought proposals for making primary education free and compulsory. The cry for making primary education free and compulsory has been taken up by most of the Indian leaders who followed him. The movement came to a culminating point when the Constitution of Free India, in a separate chapter on the "Directive Principles of State Policy", laid down that the education of a child up to the age of fourteen should be made free and compulsory within a period of ten years after its commencement, i.e., by 1960-61. Many of the State Governments, therefore, took up the question in right earnest. The task before the States was twofold. They had to reorient the contents of primary education and also to expand it so as to

make it universal. In the pre Independence days there was a good deal of dissatisfaction with regard to the contents of primary education. It was about 1938 when the Congress had formed governments in the States in India that Mahatma Gandhi raised the issue of overhauling the contents so as to make primary education fulfil its purpose which is to help in the all round development of a child's personality. The scheme advocated education of the head, the heart and the hand—in short the three H's. In order to make basic education more purposeful it was also considered necessary to extend its duration to seven years instead of four years. A period of four years, it was found, led to much wastage as many of the children forgot what they had learned after leaving their schools. Basic education as it is called, i.e. education up to fourteen years is now the pattern accepted by the State. This has meant both reorientation in the training of primary teachers and increase in the number of institutions for this training. All this involved a great financial burden and it was feared that the entire scheme would wreck on the rock of finance. At this time the Planning Commission came out with the First Five Year Plan which gave priority to primary or basic education. The Plan summed up the educational needs as follows

- (1) Re orientation of the educational system and integration of its different stages and branches,

- (2) Expansion in various fields especially in those of basic and social education, remodelled Secondary Education and Technical and Vocational education,
- (3) Consolidation of existing Secondary and University Education and the devising of a system of higher education suited to the needs of rural areas,
- (4) Expansion of facilities for women's education, especially in the rural areas,
- (5) Training of teachers, especially women teachers and teachers for basic schools, and improvement in their pay-scales and conditions of service, and
- (6) Helping backward states by giving preferential treatment to them in the matter of grants

The Plan also states "Requirements associated with the Plan and the inadequacy of existing facilities indicate high priority for basic and social education, technical and vocational education at lower levels and the development of facilities for training high grade technicians in certain selected fields" In the First Five Year Plan about Rs 169 crores were provided for the development of education, Rs 44 crores at the Centre and Rs 125 crores in the States. Out of this amount Rs 93 crores were set apart for primary education

The Plan also stated "For democratic planning to succeed, it will have to energise the entire

community and to place before it a goal of endeavour which will call forth all of its latent creative urges. The crucial factor here is leadership not merely leadership at the top but at all levels. The Community Projects which were undertaken for this purpose in rural areas and aim at the all round development of the community have also accelerated the pace of educational progress. Communities are coming forward to construct their own school buildings and there is a general demand for education. The following tables will indicate the progress made in this direction.

EXPANSION OF BASIC EDUCATION

	1950 51	1955 56	1960 61
1 Schools	1 751	10 000	38 400
2 Enrolment	1 85 000	11 00 000	42 24 000
3 Training Schools	114	449	729
4 Percent of school age children attending Basic Schools	1	4	11

EXPANSION OF ELEMENTARY EDUCATION

	1950-51	1955 56	1960 61
Number of pupils as percentage of children of school going age (age group 6-14)	Boys 46	57	70
	Girls 17	23	28
Total	32	40	49

With regard to secondary education the chart on p-129 indicates progress in the number of secondary

schools as well as in the enrolment of students. The problem, however, that faced Free India with regard to secondary education was not only its expansion, but also to define clearly its aim and object and to re-orient it in order to reach that objective. In pre-Independence India the object of secondary education seemed to be to prepare students for universities. The entire curriculum of secondary schools was based on the requirements of universities. The result was that education became, "bookish, mechanised, stereotyped and rigidly uniform and did not cater to the different aptitudes of the pupil or to pupils of different aptitudes. Nor did it develop those basic qualities of discipline, cooperation and leadership which were calculated to make them function as useful citizens." The Government of India appointed an All India Secondary Education Commission in 1952 to recommend steps to make secondary education an end in itself and not merely cater to the needs of universities. The Commission submitted their report in 1953, in which they laid down the objective of secondary education as not merely to prepare students for higher education, but also to educate them to be useful citizens in a democratic State. With this end in view they recommended diversified courses to enable a large majority of students to fit themselves for some vocation after completing their schooling. The Commission recommended changes

for re orientating the curriculum for this purpose. They recommended crafts be made an integral part of the curriculum so as to relieve it from the charge of bookishness and as recognition of the need for the education of the whole man.

These recommendations of the Commission have been accepted by the Central as well as the State Governments and steps are already being taken to implement them as finances permit. A Central Council of Secondary Education has also been established to guide in the work of their implementation as well as to serve as a general advisory body on problems of secondary education. The Planning Commission has more than doubled the allotment to secondary education in view of this orientation i.e. for the purpose of opening multipurpose schools. In the First Plan the amount allotted was Rs 22 crores while in the Second Plan it is Rs 51 crores.

During the last decade the number of universities has also increased. The number of universities in undivided India was 21. Today the number is 33. The number of colleges has likewise increased as has the number of students. In pre Independence India university education was very much neglected. The universities received very meagre financial aid from the State with the result that they had to depend largely on the income from fees received from students. Consequently the number of students meant a great deal to universities and no

restrictions were made on their admission. In fact there were more admissions than the universities could cope with. The natural result was the lowering of standards. This was the position on the eve of Independence. Soon after, i.e., in 1948, the Indian University Education Commission was appointed. They submitted their report in 1949, after surveying the entire field of university education in the country. Some of their recommendations were restriction of the number of students in universities and colleges, improvement in the teacher-pupil ratio, improvement in the method of teaching and introduction of a tutorial system, and better methods of evaluation, i.e., change in the system of examinations. More teachers, better equipment, etc., meant more money and the Commission recommended the appointment of a University Grants Commission to help the universities financially. Some of these recommendations are now being implemented. A statutory body called the University Grants Commission has been established. The Commission has been entrusted not only with the work of giving financial aid but also to see that the universities maintain a high standard. The Commission has been recently appointed and some of the immediate things they have undertaken in order to promote research are to provide funds for equipment, for improvement of libraries, for better accommodation, and for improving the

emoluments of teachers in order to attract better men for the work. The Planning Commission have recognised the importance of university education and have increased the amount of Rs 15 crores allotted in the First Plan to Rs 57 crores in the Second Plan.

In view of the vital needs of the country as envisaged in the five year plans a good deal has been done to promote technical education in the country. The Planning Commission envisaged development of technical education on the following lines

- (1) Development of facilities for research and post graduate work
- (2) Provision of courses in printing technology woollen textile technology etc. also for business management and industrial relations
- (3) Re orientation of some of the existing institutions so as to train students for the National Certificate Courses of the All India Council of Technical Education
- (4) Expansion of training facilities at the artisan and craftsman level and provision of apprenticeship schemes
- (5) Organisation of refresher courses and
- (6) Establishment of rural training centres for raising the skills of village artisans

Accordingly it was planned to establish four technological institutes in the country to give higher

technical education Out of these four, one has already been established at Kharagpur in West Bengal The Institute of Science at Bangalore has been developed for study and research in several subjects A number of national institutions have been established in different parts of the country for higher research, like the National Laboratories of Physics, Chemistry, Metallurgy, Fuel, Glass and Ceramics, Food Technology, Drugs, Electro-Chemistry, Road Research, Leather, Salt and Atomic Energy Technical institutions on a lower level have been established in several parts of the country and the existing ones helped generously Universities are also encouraged to develop and expand their faculties of technology and engineering The following table will give an idea of this expansion

EXPANSION OF TECHNICAL INSTITUTIONS

	1949 50		1955 56	
	No of Institutions	No of Students	No of Institutions	No of Students
Postgraduate Research	8	91	18	190
Degree	53	2,200	60	3,700
Diploma	81	2,400	108	3,900

The amount allotted for technical development in the First Plan was Rs 23 crores, while it is increased to Rs 48 crores in the Second Plan

It was mentioned earlier that the Planning

Commission gave a very high priority to social education particularly in rural areas. In view of the very low percentage of literacy in the country India has to fight the battle of ignorance on two fronts i.e. to educate the young as well as the old. Education of adults is very important in a democratic state. The aim of adult education is not merely to make the adults literate but also to make them realize their responsibilities in a democratic state i.e. to make them good citizens. Social education which embodies this idea includes besides literacy health education recreation economic activities and training in citizenship. Since the mass of people live in rural areas social education has become a part of the community development projects which have been introduced in many parts of rural India. Social education organisers are now being trained for the purpose.

Besides the spread of basic education and social education in rural areas it has been felt that higher education centres should also be opened in rural areas. The Indian University Commission advocated the establishment of Rural Universities. This idea will perhaps have to wait for some time. However what are known as *Janata Colleges* or *People's Colleges* have been started in some places. Higher education in these colleges is given in subjects like agriculture animal husbandry and rural economics. Their progress has to be watched before any

definite policy can be laid down with regard to their expansion. Any sharp demarcation, however, between urban and rural communities is not desirable. When primary and secondary education spread in rural areas and more amenities by way of communications and sanitation are made available, the distinction between rural and urban will not remain to the extent that it exists today.

I have tried to give, in short, an overall picture of the efforts that have been made in the field of education during the last ten years. Democratic ways are bound to be slow, but the results are assured. While, therefore, it is not possible to give a spectacular account of the country's progress in the educational field, it is possible at least to indicate the line of advance. If the advance is on sound lines, one can be sure of ultimately reaching the goal. If the seeds are properly sown and nurtured, trees will grow and blossom into flowers and even bear fruit. It will, however, take time. It may take ten years, or even twenty, before it will be possible to see the full fruits of efforts made during the last ten years. But ten or twenty years are nothing in the life-time of a nation. What is important is that the country knows its needs and is doing its best to provide for them in the right manner.

**Progress in Public Health During
Post Independence Years**

By Lt Col C K Lakshmanan

The Constitution of Free India which came into force in 1950 included among the Directive Principles of State Policy the following The State shall regard the raising of the level of nutrition and the standard of living of its people and the improvement of public health as among its primary duties

This declaration did not however mark any significant departure from the principles which had activated Government policies ever since the attainment of Independence in 1947 Thus even though there was a change in the tempo of work after 1950 and the First and the Second Five Year Plans set certain priorities and integrated the activities in various fields yet the reorientation can be said to have commenced almost ten years ago Where we find ourselves today therefore may be said to be the result of the labours of a decade and if the progress has not been as rapid and spectacular as could have been wished for the reasons for this are not far to seek The developments of the last few years need to be seen in the context of the low

standard of living in general, and of health in particular, at the beginning of this period, of the primitive conditions of environmental sanitation, of a far-from-adequate health machinery, and last but not least, of the urgent need of pressing into service the limited resources of the country for increasing the production and earning capacity of the country. This last consideration has necessarily had the effect of restraining the pace of acceleration of social welfare activities, as even a Social Welfare State must first possess itself of the means for working towards its avowed objective.

State of Health before 1947

The assessment of progress made in any sphere of human endeavour is facilitated by a comparison of certain basic facts and figures. While such data provide direct evidence of the trends in many other fields, "Health" as such does not lend itself to a quantitative measurement and reliance has, therefore, to be placed on less direct yardsticks. These are based on a mass of statistical information recording certain "vital events". This in turn, presupposes the existence of a well organised and extensive machinery, if the statistics are to be authentic and reliable. Such a machinery in a country like ours must encompass the five hundred thousand villages, which among them account for nearly 80% of the population. Such statistics as there are, need

therefore to be viewed with a certain amount of reservation. The Health Survey and Development Committee which was set up by the Government of India to survey the health conditions in the country and to make recommendations for their improvement and which produced a very comprehensive report shortly before Independence brought out certain significant facts

A COMPARISON OF INDIAN MORTALITY RATES AND EXPECTATION OF LIFE WITH THOSE OF CERTAIN OTHER COUNTRIES

Serial No	Country	Death rate (1937)	Infantile mortality rate (1937)	Life expectation at birth	
				Males	Females
1	New Zealand	9.1	31	65.04	67.88 (1931)
2	Australia	9.4	38	63.48	67.14 (1932-34)
3	Union of South Africa	10.1	37	57.78	61.48 (1925-27) (European population)
4	Canada	10.2	76	50.30	61.59 (1929-31)
5	United States of America	11.2	54	59.12	62.67 (White population) 47.55 49.51 (Negro population) (1929-31)
6	Germany	11.7	64	59.86	62.75 (1932-34)
7	England & Wales	12.4	58	58.74	62.88 (1930-32)
8	Italy	14.2	109	53.76	56.00 (1930-32)
9	France	15.0	65	54.30	59.02 (1928-33)
10	Japan	17.0	106	44.82	46.54 (1926-30)
11	Java	18.8			
12	Palestine	18.9	153		
13	Federated Malaya States	19.9	147		
14	Ceylon	21.7	158		
15	British India	22.4	162	26.91	26.56 (1921-30)
16	St. Settlements	22.5	156		
17	Egypt	27.2	165		

DEATHS AT SPECIFIC AGE PERIODS SHOWN AS PERCENTAGES
OF THE TOTAL DEATHS AT ALL AGES

Country	Under one year	1 5 years	5 10 years	Total under 10 years
British India (average for 1935-39)	24.3	18.6	5.5	48.4
England & Wales (1938)	6.8	2.1	1.1	10.0

Maternal Mortality

The recorded rates for maternal mortality in the Provinces varied considerably, ranging from such low figures as 0.06 per 1,000 births to about 12 per 1,000. These figures give an incorrect picture of the actual situation as revealed by special enquiries conducted in limited areas in different parts of the country. Taking into consideration the results of these enquiries, a special committee appointed by the Central Advisory Board of Health to report on maternity and child welfare work in India, came to the conclusion in 1938, that the rate for the country as a whole "is probably somewhere near 20 per 1,000 live births".

As against this, the shortage of available personnel and institutional facilities was clearly revealed

SHORTAGE OF AVAILABLE PERSONNEL AND INSTITUTIONAL FACILITIES

Class of personnel	Number available now	Ratio of numbers in column 2 to the present population of British India (300 millions)	Existing ratio in United Kingdom	Suggested ratio to be attained in 1971 in British India with an estimated population of 370 millions	Number required in 1971
(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)	(6)
Doctors	47 400	1 to 6 300	1 to 1 000	1 to 2 000	185 000
Nurses	7 000	1 to 43 000	1 to 300	1 to 500	740 000
Health Visitors	750	1 to 400 000	1 to 4 770	1 to 5 000	74 000
Midwives	5 000	1 to 60 000	1 to 618 *	1 to 4 000 (or 1 per 100 births)	92 500
Qualified Pharmacists	75	1 to 4 000 000	1 pharmacist to 3 doctors	1 pharmacist to 3 doctors	62 000
Qualified Dentists	1 000	1 to 300 000	1 to 2 700	1 to 4 000	92 500

Based on 1935 figures

Based on 1943 figures

Persons who have had training acceptable in countries where legislation controlling pharmacy exists

AVERAGE POPULATION SERVED IN EACH PROVINCE DURING 1942 BY ONE MEDICAL INSTITUTION (HOSPITALS AND DISPENSARIES CONSIDERED TOGETHER)*

Province	Average population served by a medical institution in 1942		Province	Average population served by a medical institution in 1942	
	Rural	Urban		Rural	Urban
1 Sind	22,904	7,630	7 Orissa	52,548	15,276
2 N W F P	34,053	9 359	8 Bombay	34,927	17,127
3 Punjab	30 925	15 188	9 Bihar	62,744	18,630
4 Assam	44 562	172,962	10 C P & Berar	66,008	11 379
5 Bengal	37,996	19,730	11 U P	105,626	17,668
6 Madras	42,672	28,496			

*These figures relate to the year 1939

As regards the preventive health organisation the Committee observed

A certain number of Provinces have District Health Officers in charge of rural health administration in all their districts some others have such officers only in a limited number of districts while the remaining Provinces have the Civil Surgeon in combined charge of medical and public health activities. The extent to which Health Officers have been appointed in Municipalities also varies widely in the Provinces. The total number of Sanitary or Health Inspectors employed in British India is about 3 000 while it has been estimated that the number required will be in the neighbourhood of 12 000. The existing number of midwives is probably 5 000 while for adequate service to the people 100 000 are considered necessary. The total number of Health Visitors in the country is about 700 or 750 while for the supervision of the work of 100 000 midwives about 20 000 Health Visitors will be required. The number of women doctors with special training in maternity and child welfare work is about 70 or 80 and of these only a dozen are women graduates in medicine with adequate special training in maternity and child welfare work.

Administrative and other Aspects

To complete the canvas of the backdrop of this

scene, it is necessary to mention one or two other things

Health had been a "transferred" subject for almost a quarter of a century before Independence, that is, its administration was in the hands of elected representatives, and the Provinces, as the States were then called, constituting the Union of India, had almost complete autonomy in this sphere. The provision of medical and public health services was, as it still is, largely the executive function of the State Governments which continue to be free to frame their policies and to adopt such standards as they choose within a broad framework. The Constitution has charged the Union Government directly with responsibilities only in the field of international health and standards of higher technical education and research. Medical relief and preventive work have been left to the States while all other matters are in the concurrent list, *i.e.*, both the Central and State Governments can legislate on them. The tendency to deviate from certain accepted standards in the pre-Independence era, was, however, effectively checked by the higher administrative and specialist offices in the States being manned by the members of an All-India Service, which had at its head the Chief Adviser on Health matters to the Government of India. With the dissolution of the All-India Service in 1947 this link was broken and the equilibrium was further

endangered by the accession to the Indian Union of a number of erstwhile princely States in most of which the health services were of an even poorer order. There was thus a very real danger of varying standards developing in different parts of the Union and the benefits of the progressive action of one State being lost as the result of the backwardness of its neighbours. It must however be said to the credit of the States that the lead given by the Government of India in matters of common interest has with rare exceptions been followed by them with understanding and enthusiasm in spite of their limitations of finance and personnel.

This voluntary participation in a joint effort for a common purpose has been further strengthened by the coming into existence 5 years ago of a Statutory Body—The Central Health Council—consisting of the Health Ministers of all the States under the Chairmanship of the Union Minister for Health. This Council has served as a forum for the discussion of the entire range of health problems for the exchange of views on matters of common interest and for the taking of decisions which would ensure the maintenance of certain minimum standards by all the States.

Another important aspect of the administrative organisation which needs mention is the bifurcation of curative as against preventive health work which was a feature of the health services of the country

Both at the Centre and in the States, the existence of separate and independent machinery for the two arms of the service had led to a compartmentalisation, which in spite of the best will to the contrary, had detracted from the maximum utilisation of the benefits of each. One of the first steps taken on the declaration of Independence in 1947, was, therefore, to combine into one office the functions discharged till then by separate medical and public health advisers to the Government of India and to commend similar action to the States. With the exception of 2 or 3 States all others have followed suit, and even though at the periphery curative and preventive function are still being carried out dichotomously, their direction by a common administrative agency at the top has obviated a number of drawbacks and brought about greater co ordination and team work.

This skeleton outline indicating broadly the framework within which we work, will perhaps not be complete without a reference to certain features which, even if not peculiar to India, have all the same, a significance of their own. Unlike many Western countries, the official agencies in India are required to provide not only the personal and communal preventive health services but also most of the curative services, and since the citizen is more immediately concerned with the latter, the ever-increasing popular demand for their expansion

has had the effect of the public funds being appropriated largely for this purpose at the cost of the preventive services. This state of affairs is reflected in almost all the State Health budgets. Another fact to be taken into account is the dispersal of over 80% of the population in remote and far flung villages and hamlets where communications are poor and the economic and educational levels of a low order. The reluctance of qualified medical men to settle down in villages under these conditions even against the cut throat competition they may have to face in the cities has helped the quack and the charlatan to flourish and given impetus from time to time to the demand for the supposedly more economical indigenous systems of medicine although given the choice the shrewd villager would by far and large show preference for the modern scientific medicine.

The Five Year Plans

The First Five Year Plan was framed then on the background of these conditions. In defining the basic patterns of development the Planning Commission observed. The urge to economic and social change under present conditions comes from the fact of poverty and of inequalities of income wealth and opportunity. The elimination of poverty cannot obviously be achieved merely by redistributing existing wealth. Nor can a programme

aiming only at raising production remove existing inequalities. The two have to be considered together. The problem therefore is not of merely rechanneling economic activity within the existing socio economic framework, that framework itself has to be remoulded so as to enable it to accommodate progressively those fundamental urges which express themselves in the demands for the right to work, the right to adequate income, the right to education and to a measure of insurance against old age, sickness and disability.

“To the extent that the accent of the Plan is on increasing production, the limitations of resources available would restrict the scope for expanding social services. And yet it is obvious that no plan can succeed unless it ‘invests’ in the improvement of the human material. Even from the point of view of increasing production, social services like education, technical training and health bring in significant returns.”

It was thus that out of a total projected investment of Rs 2,069 crores in the First Plan, the social services were allotted Rs 340 crores, about 100 crores (4.8%) being for Health. The corresponding figures in the Second Five Year Plan which began in April, 1956, are 4800, 900 and 284 crores respectively.

In deciding upon a plan of action, where the demands are heavy and numerous, but where the

field of activity must be limited by considerations of resources in men and material it becomes necessary to lay down priorities. The priorities which were to form the basis of the First Five Year Plan were thus

- (i) Provision of water supply and sanitation
- (ii) *Control of malaria*
- (iii) Preventive health care of the rural population through health units and mobile units
- (iv) Health services for mothers and children
- (v) Education training and health education
- (vi) Self sufficiency in drugs and equipment and
- (vii) Family planning and population control

The declared aim of health programmes during the Second Five Year Plan is to expand existing health services to bring them increasingly within the reach of all the people and to promote a progressive improvement in the level of national health. The specific objectives are

- (i) Establishment of institutional facilities to serve as bases from which services can be rendered to the people both locally and in surrounding territories
- (ii) Development of technical manpower through appropriate training programmes and employment of persons trained
- (iii) As the first step in the improvement of public health institution of measures to control

communicable diseases which may be widely prevalent in the community ,

- (iv) An active campaign for environmental hygiene, and
- (v) Family Planning and other supporting programmes for raising the standard of the health of the people ”

In short, it may be said that the First as well as the Second Five Year Plans are devoted largely to the control of communicable diseases, to the improvement of environmental sanitation, to increase the number of trained health personnel of all categories, to pay special attention to the health needs of the rural areas and to bring about population control through a family planning movement. While a large number of ancillary and subsidiary schemes find a place in the health plans, the main emphasis continues to be on the activities mentioned above, which therefore, find a place in the Plans of the Central as well as the State Governments as parts of national programmes. These national programmes are directed largely at preventing rather than curing diseases by breaking the vicious circle of poverty, ignorance and disease and saving for the country an equivalent of about 2,000 crores of rupees lost per year as the result of debility, disease and death.

What follows is a brief account of some of the more important of these national health programmes

The National Malaria Control Programme has a pride of place among these for the reasons that malaria was and still is although to a lesser extent the biggest health problem that this was one of the earliest campaigns undertaken on a country wide basis that its achievements have been spectacular and last but not least that it is an excellent example of cooperative endeavour

Control of Communicable Diseases

(1) *Malaria* : Malaria morbidity until the inception of this programme was estimated to be of the order of 100 million cases per year resulting in 2 million deaths. As against this even the partial implementation of the control programme is estimated to have already prevented 50 million cases and half a million deaths in 1955. Two hundred anti malaria units each covering a population of one million are to protect the 200 million people exposed to the risk of malaria. Vehicles DDT sprayers and other equipment are being provided by the Technical Cooperation Mission of the United States technical direction supervision and co ordination by the Government of India and personnel and maintenance by the State Governments. One hundred and forty six teams were in position by the end of 1956 and the rest are expected to be in position in the course of the coming year. The control programme is however now proposed to

be replaced by an "eradication" programme, so as not to leave any chance for the recurrence of this menace to the health of the country

(ii) *Tuberculosis* Tuberculosis is another menace which has made serious inroads into our health fabric. It is estimated that there are 2.5 million cases of active tuberculosis in the country, out of which perhaps one-fifth die every year. Although the number of beds for T B cases had been increased from a mere 5,000 in 1950 to over 22,000, this is still very far short of our requirements. We have realised that no anti-tuberculosis programme can succeed if we are to depend on providing adequate institutional facilities, it will not be physically possible for us to provide enough beds for all cases. In view of this and in view of the fact that the fight against tuberculosis involves social, economic and environmental hygiene factors, our plans aim at preventing the disease, preventing the spread of infection and detecting and treating the patients where we find them. Preventive inoculation of the entire susceptible population by B C G vaccine has, therefore, been undertaken, and so far 80 million people have been tested and 28 million out of them given the B C G vaccine, through nearly 150 teams working in the field from one area to another. The campaign is expected to cover the entire population in the course of the next five years.

For bringing the tuberculosis services close to

the people the tuberculosis dispensary programme is being extended and it is hoped that by the end of the Second Plan period every district will be served by at least one up to date T B Clinic. For this purpose at least 300 Clinics will either be set up or the existing ones brought up to the modern standard by being provided with the necessary trained staff and equipment. One of the important activities of these dispensaries will be to carry out domiciliary treatment where necessary so that the spread of infection is controlled and cases for whom institutional treatment is not necessary or not immediately available get such care as is necessary. In order to serve as model clinics and in order to train the large number of workers required for this programme each State will have at least one T B Demonstration and Training Centre. The fight against tuberculosis is an uphill one but we are confident that we will gain control over it in the coming years.

(iii) *Leprosy & Filariasis* Leprosy and filariasis are two other major communicable diseases against which campaigns are being carried out on a national scale. These are diseases which have more or less a regional distribution. They do not kill as does tuberculosis but the misery, suffering and disability—with all the social and economic implications which they cause—present an enormous problem. Here again we do not propose to wait for these

cases to come to hospitals or clinics but to seek the actual and potential cases and treat them as far as possible in their own premises

National Water Supply and Sanitation Scheme

Protected water supply and good drainage and sanitation arrangements play an important part in the national life of a country. They are of primary importance for the prevention of the scourge of water-borne diseases and yet scant attention was given to this vital necessity before the First Five Year Plan was started. Even though some of the States had provided some money in their budgets during the First Plan period for an improved water supply in a few urban and rural areas, they were really unable in many instances, to do very much owing to the absence of an adequate Public Health Engineering Organisation. The Central Government, therefore, formulated in 1954 a national programme for which an allotment of Rs 12 crores was made, to be given as loans for urban schemes, and Rs 6 crores as 50% grant for rural water-supply and drainage schemes. With a view to facilitating the preparation and implementation of all such schemes in various States, a Central Public Health Engineering Organisation has been set up in the Central Ministry which gives technical advice and guidance and works out standards and specifications in those States where no such personnel exist. This programme

is proposed to be expanded manifold in the Second Plan at a total outlay of more than 60 crores of rupees. The State Governments it is hoped will promote the setting up of adequate Public Health Engineering Organisations. Considerable amounts of the equipment required are being imported and facilities for giving specialised technical training are being developed.

Health Services in the Rural Areas

With nearly 80% of our population living in the rural areas all our major health problems are necessarily problems that have to be faced in the villages. The examples of the few national programmes that I have given earlier are applicable to and are in fact being implemented largely in the rural areas. These are the most urgent needs and even if adequate medical care facilities do not come within the reach of the 500 000 villages in the coming years the successful execution of the public health programme by itself will have cut down considerably the mortality and morbidity in the villages. We cannot however leave the villages at the same time to their fate. Village communities and the rural environment we believe on the other hand offer the ideal conditions for combined curative and preventive services and this is to be accomplished by setting up a network of Rural Health Centres. About 3 000 of these are planned to be in position by the

end of the Second Plan period, each serving a population of 50—60,000 persons by taking care of both the personal and community health problems in the area. To achieve this object, they will necessarily be mobile teams and apart from curative work, these will also take care of maternal and child health work, sanitation, preventive inoculation and health education.

Family Planning

The problem of population control continues to engage the serious attention of the Government and a family planning scheme designed to promote the welfare of the family as a unit of society from the social, economic and cultural points of view has been drawn up by the Government of India. A provision of Rs. 65 lakhs was made by the Ministry of Health in their First Five Year Plan for programmes and research in family planning. A centre has been opened in the Indian Cancer Research Centre, Bombay, for the testing of simple contraceptives suited to our country. A small unit for the evolving of contraceptives from indigenous plant substances has also been set up. Propaganda material including films on family planning have been prepared and distributed, because in this field, education is of primary importance. It has been decided to create an autonomous organisation for administering the family planning programme on a national

scale. It is proposed to establish family planning clinics one for a population of 50 000 in all big cities and major towns. As regards small towns and rural areas clinics will be opened gradually in association with primary health units. These clinics are intended to create a general awareness of the problem and to provide advice and service. The establishment of a Central Training and Clinical Institute and a Rural Training Unit near Bangalore are under consideration. It is also proposed to promote actively medical biological and demographic research. A provision of nearly Rs. 5 crores has been made for family planning programmes. It is expected that about 300 urban and 1 800 rural clinics will be set up in the course of the Second Plan.

Education and Training

For a growing Health Organisation to run efficiently through the various phases of its development it is necessary to make available the required personnel from the highly skilled specialist down to the worker of the lowest category.

Steps are being taken to assure the availability of these training facilities. For specialisation in the various branches of medicine there was no choice until recently for our medical graduates but to go abroad. Although the necessity for this is far from having been obviated facilities have

now been developed in many of our teaching and research institutions for post-graduate work. A number of selected departments of such institutions have been upgraded for post-graduate teaching and are giving training of a high standard. In some of these institutions we are actually accepting for training health workers from other countries in the South East Asia region. It is proposed to extend this programme by upgrading other departments of medical colleges in various parts of the country.

(i) *Institute of Medical Sciences* Besides these selected departments in the different medical institutions in the country, the All India Institute of Medical Sciences is now coming up in New Delhi as the main centre for post-graduate teaching in all departments of medicine. It will offer facilities of the highest order for both undergraduate and post-graduate studies and will also serve as a hot-house for turning out teachers for the medical colleges in the country. A great deal of thought and study have gone into the planning of this Institute and the slight delay, in consequence, in starting this Centre, will, I trust, be more than justified by better and more lasting results.

Necessary though facilities are for specialisation and postgraduate teaching, the basic doctor or general practitioner will always be the mainstay of our health services and steps must therefore be taken to increase the output of this category of health worker. It

is hoped in this direction to start new medical colleges and to expand some of the existing ones so that about 4 000 doctors are trained every year by the end of the Second Five Year Plan period. In like manner the training of Nurses Health Visitors Pharmacists Sanitary Inspectors and other ancillary health workers is to be stepped up in order to meet the requirements of the health services as they embark upon new schemes and activities.

(ii) Medical Research in the Second Five Year Plan

The programme of research drawn up by the Indian Council of Medical Research has as its main objective the acquisition of new knowledge in the various fields of medicine and public health and the application of this knowledge to the solution of urgent public health problems facing the country. It is but natural therefore that medical research should be geared to the other nation building activities envisaged in the country's successive Five Year Plans. In the First Five Year Plan emphasis was laid on the control of the major communicable diseases and research was directed towards development of techniques for that purpose. Experiments were carried out to test the efficacy of chemotherapeutic agents and insecticides in the mass control of malaria and filariasis. Likewise in leprosy methods for the control of the disease in the community through chemotherapy were developed. The mechanisms by which plague and

cholera persist in the community in the inter-epidemic periods have been elucidated. Research institutes for the special study of leprosy, chest diseases including tuberculosis, and cancer were established at the same time. The field of mental health has not been neglected and a special institute for its study has also been established.

In our Second Five Year Plan other communicable diseases, such as trachoma, virus diseases and tuberculosis will be intensively studied. The trachoma project, which is being sponsored jointly by the Government of India and the World Health Organisation, consists of a study of the epidemiological behaviour of the disease in the rural communities of India followed by investigations into the most effective and economical way of controlling it on a mass scale. The studies on tuberculosis are being undertaken again in collaboration with the World Health Organisation and the British Medical Research Council. The object of these studies is to find out how far modern chemotherapy and antibiotic drugs, when used in the treatment of tuberculosis patients under home conditions, will be effective in controlling the disease in the community.

In our First Five Year Plan some attention was paid towards the improvement of environmental sanitation. This effort will be intensified in the Second Five Year Plan. Research in this field will

be directed towards the solution of numerous practical problems relating to the provision of pure water supplies sewage disposal prevention of street pollution and the disposal of industrial wastes. These studies which are already underway will be made with special reference to the prevailing conditions in the country in rural and urban areas.

To make the country self sufficient in drugs is the avowed objective of our Five Year Plans and we believe that a realistic drug research programme is of crucial importance in this connection. The study and development of effective drugs from our indigenous medicinal plants is an important element in our programme. Besides research into synthetic drugs biologicals and antibiotics will also receive attention.

With the rapid growth of industry special problems affecting the health of industrial workers have been created in our country. We have established a research unit for the study of these problems and are at present examining the question of establishing an occupational health research institute for the country as a whole.

Nutrition research in India is playing an important role in shaping our food and nutrition policies on a scientific basis. In the Second Five Year Plan we are undertaking a number of research projects in this field. The practical problems of endemic goitre lathyrism and fluorosis have been with us

for many years causing much disability and suffering among the affected people. We shall be making a determined effort to so direct our studies into these problems that practical solutions can be speedily discovered. In the field of goitre a pilot control project is already underway. Among other problems to be studied, special mention may be made of the country-wide studies on the growth and physical development of Indian children and of the programme for the survey and prevention of protein malnutrition in India.

We are supporting research into our ancient systems of medicine in order to evaluate in scientific terms the basic concepts of disease embodied in them and to assess the therapeutic potency of the numerous remedies described in them. An institute for research into the indigenous systems of medicine has been established and further *ad hoc* researches in this field are supported by making grants to individual workers.

This is a rather hurried and brief account of some of the more important activities undertaken in India in recent years. In spite of many difficulties and in spite of the fact that many of these activities in their nature, cannot be expected to show immediate or spectacular results, we are convinced that we have taken the correct path, even if the material and lasting benefits take a generation or more to fructify. We also have the welcome and generous support in

the execution of many of our programmes of multilateral and bilateral agencies which apart from the direct material benefits accruing from such association gives us valuable opportunities of collaboration and team work on an international level

A Decade of Social Progress Since Independence

By J M Kumarappa

Social work in India has been influenced at various stages of its development by diverse factors, primarily by the socio-political structure of the country. Maladjustments and other problems were originally dealt with by the tribes themselves through their traditional assemblies. During the feudal period, the religious-minded, the philanthropic and the well-to-do took a keen interest in studying and attempting to solve the social problems of the community. The rural communities had their own system, whereby no individual was ignored or neglected and all worked for the betterment of the group as a whole. The joint family and the caste system had a very useful function to perform, namely, to ensure the welfare of the members of the community. Thus, there was very little need for the State to interfere in the social field.

With the advent of the British, the old community organization tended to break up and new social problems arose. It was left to a few individuals—principally the social reformers—to

attempt to meet this situation and to evolve ways and means of coping with the many problems. Although there was an element of Government participation in social welfare programmes this participation was to a certain extent at least a defensive step aimed at checking the growing surge for political freedom. By and large it was left to private and voluntary agencies to take the initiative. The field of social work now tended to become more organised and we find the rise of such bodies as the Servants of India Society, the Young Men's Christian Association, the Ramakrishna Mission and others.

With the attainment of Independence in 1947, there was a change not only in political set up but also in the direction of the State as the country under the able guidance of Pandit Nehru pledged itself to the goal of a Welfare State with a socialistic pattern of society. The post Independence period marks a new stage in the development of social work for the far reaching change in concept of the function of the State has necessarily carried with it the implication that the Government has to assume much of the responsibility for the provision of welfare facilities, social security and employment. The result has been a change in both the form of social service rendered to the people and in the organizational set up. The initiative which previously lay with voluntary agencies, philanthropic

institutions and individuals, has passed into the hands of the State. Thus, the most important feature of the period since 1947, so far as social work is concerned, has been the increasing participation of the State in social welfare activities.

Unfortunately, however, many of the programmes of social work which might have been expected to be inaugurated with the coming of a national government, had to be set aside to meet the colossal problem of refugee rehabilitation, created by the partition of the sub-continent. Following partition, the Government was faced with the stupendous task of having to resettle about 74 lakhs of refugees from Pakistan, of whom about 49 lakhs were from West Pakistan and the rest from East Pakistan. A Central Ministry of Rehabilitation was created for the purpose of dealing with this problem. Some of the States also followed the lead by forming State Ministries of Rehabilitation. The remedial steps taken by the authorities differed according to whether the refugees were rural or urban. Rural rehabilitation was carried out through one of the following procedures, viz, the quasi-permanent allotment of evacuee agricultural land in PEPSU and the Punjab, the temporary allotment of evacuee land especially in Rajasthan and Delhi, and the creation of settlements to cultivate reclaimed waste land. In the case of those who were rehabilitated in the urban areas the problem of housing loomed large. Hence,

a housing programme had to be worked out and the refugees were granted loans to build their houses. Facilities for vocational and educational training were also provided. The expenditure involved in rehabilitation in the First Five Year Plan period amounted to about 136 crores of rupees of which about 67 crores were earmarked for housing 22 crores for education and vocational training 19 crores for rural loans and 13 crores for urban loans. The expenditure under the Second Five Year Plan is estimated at about 80 crores of which 25 crores are for housing. It is not an exaggeration to say that the government agencies have handled this problem efficiently and speedily and it is a significant event in the field of social work in the post Independence era.

Another noteworthy contribution of the Government to the development of social work has been the setting up of the Community Projects Administration. The National Government early realised the need for public co operation in the implementation of its policies of national development and the inauguration of the Community Development Projects and the National Extension Services are visible evidence of the efforts of the Government not only to promote public co operation but also to carry out a very extensive scheme for the all round development of the rural community. These programmes aim both at arousing the dormant

energies of the rural population, and at tapping and securing the fullest development of human and material resources. This is to be achieved through the improvement of environmental services, agricultural improvements, increase in educational and health facilities, provision of employment and housing, and the necessary social services.

Broadly speaking, the rural development programmes aim at raising the standard of living of the rural population through increasing employment facilities and production, they aim at providing every village or group of villages with a multi-purpose co-operative society, at improving facilities like schools, dispensaries and roads, and thereby changing, ultimately, the very outlook of the villagers. This is to be achieved by encouraging the villages to accept the principle of self-help through voluntary participation, not only in the implementation of the plans, but also in planning. It is encouraging to find that the Community Projects and the National Extension programmes have to date covered one-third of the rural population, living in 5½ lakhs of villages. By the end of the Second Five Year Plan period it is envisaged that the entire rural area will have been covered.

Under the First Five Year Plan, a sum of four crores of rupees was set apart to enable deserving social welfare agencies in different parts of the country to apply for grants-in-aid. The Planning

Commission at the same time thought it fit to create a Board to administer this grant in aid programme and the inauguration in August 1953 of the Central Social Welfare Board was another landmark in the development of social work in the country. This is because by the setting up of a Board of this nature the Government not only further indicated its determination to develop this field through the existing private and public social welfare agencies but also to assist in putting them on a sound footing. Government also expressed through this constructive act its determination to take the necessary initiative to bring about the proper co-ordination of the activities of those diversified social welfare agencies scattered all over the country. The establishment of the Central Social Welfare Board further enables the starting of new agencies in those parts of the country which have hitherto been neglected or ignored. The Central Social Welfare Board comprised of non-officials along with representatives of Social Service Ministries and Finance Ministry of the Government is an autonomous body having as its Chairman a non-official. To help it in its work the Board has set up branches in practically every State. The Board has a panel of experts to advise it on a number of social problems like child and family welfare, welfare of the handicapped and delinquent juveniles, aftercare services etc. Till

very recently the Board has assisted about 2,000 institutions, of which 660 are women's welfare agencies, 150 are institutions for the handicapped, 60 for children and the rest general social welfare agencies. In addition to all these, which are more or less confined to the urban areas, the Board has undertaken some social welfare extension projects in the rural areas as well. Each district is to have one project covering about 25 villages. Under the Second Five Year Plan, the Board hopes to bring the total number of projects to 1,320 covering about 50,000 villages. The Board is also contemplating the setting up of a number of rescue homes and shelters for women, homes for ex-inmates of non-correctional institutions and aftercare homes for ex-prisoners. A conspicuous and unique feature of the two Five Year Plans is the stress laid on social welfare services, such as women's and children's welfare, the welfare of the handicapped, the scheduled tribes and castes, and the backward classes. Hence, it is no wonder that about 20% of the budgets of both the Plans has been allotted to social welfare services, the amounts being approximately 547 crores and 400 crores.

It will not be out of place to mention the fact that one of the outstanding achievements of the people of the country has been the vigorous manner in which they have combatted the age-old problem of untouchability and casteism. While it would

be an exaggeration to state that the problem has been as good as banished yet it is correct to say that by and large, except in a few rural areas the system is breaking up and untouchability is fast dying. In tackling this problem not only have statutory laws been passed and the institution abolished under the Constitution of India but special departments have also been set up to deal with the problem at other levels.

The story of governmental participation in social work in India would be incomplete if reference were not made to the active interest taken by Government in the welfare of the aboriginal tribes. The tribals who till recently attracted only the attention of the anthropologists have now the patronage of the Prime Minister himself. In fact a Central National Organisation—the *Bharatiya Adim Jati Seva Sangh*—was created soon after Independence and under its guidance over 30 tribal welfare agencies are working with the different tribes.

The latest and most progressive step taken by the Government for the development of social work has been the recognition of the necessity for a Ministry of Social Welfare. This Ministry would co ordinate the activities of the various social welfare agencies in the entire country and also provide the necessary machinery to co ordinate the welfare activities of other social service ministries. Some of the State Governments have taken up this matter with

enthusiasm and have set up Departments of Social Welfare. The States of Uttar Pradesh, Madhya Pradesh, Bombay, Rajasthan, Andhra, Mysore, Punjab and West Bengal already have Departments of Social Welfare. It is to be hoped that they will soon be followed by appropriate Ministries. An encouraging step in this direction was taken by the Centre when it recently elevated the Community Projects Administration into a Ministry of Community Development.

Apart from Government activities in the field of social work, the Indian Conference of Social Work—started by the alumni members of the Tata Institute of Social Sciences in 1947—has been performing a most useful function. The Conference is a landmark in the evolution of social work along scientific lines and an organised attempt to put it on a sound footing. It was felt by its sponsors that an organisation of this kind would stimulate public interest in social welfare, co-ordinate the activities of social welfare agencies, and provide a common platform on which all those interested—whether professional or voluntary social workers, experienced or inexperienced—could meet, discuss, and exchange views and experiences. One of the major objects of the Conference is to undertake the study of social problems in a scientific and objective manner and to gather background material and data from which may evolve scientific procedures for

the effective treatment of these problems. The Conference also aims at providing short term training courses for initiates into the field of social work and seminars on specific subjects for both professional social workers and volunteers. From time to time the Conference also submits memoranda to the Government of India relating to vital topics of interest. The Conference now meets once a year—in the last week of December.

One of the difficulties faced in our country has been the lack of trained personnel to man the multifarious social work activities initiated by both Government and voluntary agencies. The need for trained personnel has been increasingly recognised as a basic essential for the implementation of welfare programmes. Realising this academic institutions have not lagged behind and one of the landmarks in the field has been the recognition of social work as a profession. The pioneering institution in the country is the Tata Institute of Social Sciences established in 1936 in Bombay. This institution provides training in the different fields of social work—Labour Welfare, Family and Child Welfare, Community Organisation, Rural Welfare, Tribal Welfare, Medical Social Work and more recently in Social Research.

At this point it may be worthwhile to consider the field of corrections which has received impetus—in part at least—from the efforts of teaching and

research institutions Following Independence, several States appointed Jail Reform Committees to report on methods for improving correctional administration, and at the all-India level the Government of India obtained the services of U N experts in criminology and corrections These experts, who were associated with the Tata Institute of Social Sciences, offered training programmes for correctional officers from different States of the country and also prepared a *Report on Jail Administration* Towards the close of the year 1953, the Tata Institute set up a separate Department of Criminology, Juvenile Delinquency and Correctional Administration Recently programmes of probation and after-care for adult offenders have expanded considerably and we have also seen an increasing emphasis on institutional and non-institutional work among juvenile delinquents The welfare approach to the problems of crime and delinquency has influenced even law enforcement agencies The First and Second Five Year Plans also make adequate provision for promoting programmes in this field

The pioneering training effort of the Tata Institute of Social Sciences was followed somewhat later by the establishment of other schools, which include the Delhi School of Social Work, the Faculty of Social Work of the M S University of Baroda, the Madras School of Social Work, and the Institute of Industrial Relations at Jamshedpur Some of

these institutions provide training in urban social work and others in rural social work. A number of other schools have been established for short term training programmes. Many of our colleges now have Departments of Social Service providing not only one year certificate programmes of study but also practical social work in nearby community areas.

Other important events that have taken place in the field of social work over the last ten years may be mentioned briefly. The Indian Council for Child Welfare which was established very recently goes a long way towards meeting a pressing need for an agency to co ordinate the activities of the different child welfare services available in the country. The Family Planning Board also recently constituted fulfils another long felt need for an agency to tackle the problem of growing population and of introducing family planning in the country. It is needless to say that a Board of this kind has many potentialities. The *Bharat Sevak Samaj* a non political non official organisation has been successfully conducting its affairs and is now playing a prominent role in popularising the Second Five Year Plan. The main objective of this organisation is to provide ample opportunity to individuals interested in voluntary social work.

An evidence of growing public interest in social work is an increasing desire on the part of people

to participate in *shramdan*. In this connection, it is worthwhile reviewing the *Sarvodaya* Movement. The word, *Sarvodaya*, first used by Gandhiji as the title of his Gujarati translation of John Ruskin's "Unto This Last", stands for "the greatest good of all". *Sarvodaya* is a "true democracy realised" in which "everybody would know how to earn an honest living by the sweat of one's brow ready to lay down his life when occasion demands it, never want to take another's life". This movement, under Vinobaji's able guidance, calls upon the people to voluntarily offer as a gift a part of their possessions. The gift may be in the nature of land (*Bhoodan*), wealth (*Sampattidan*), physical labour (*Shramdan*), knowledge (*Buddidan*) or just *piemdan*. It has to be said that the movement is making considerable headway.

The participation of the women in the political movements in the early twenties of this century, and the increased activities of the All India Women's Conference have gone a long way to accelerate the emancipation of our women. Their contribution to social progress has also been remarkable, for they have been able to bring their maternal instincts, their native love, affection and sympathy for fellow-beings to bear in social work. A considerable number of social work institutions are managed and manned by women—the Central Social Welfare Board being one of the outstanding examples.

Numerous statutes pertaining to marriage divorce property rights inheritance and so on have also greatly hastened women's emancipation

One of the natural outcomes of the growth of new agencies of social welfare over these few years has been the tendency for some of them to overlap in their programmes of work. Finance has also been a factor with which to reckon. While it cannot be denied that the Government is trying its best to divert such funds as are available towards social services the lag between demand and supply still remains large. But after all is said and done when it is borne in mind that we are only in the tenth year of our new existence much has been achieved. It should not be too difficult to reach our goals once the people start co-operating more enthusiastically not only in the implementation of programmes but also in their formulation.

Women in the Decade Since Independence¹

By Hannah Sen and Tara Ali Baig

Perhaps no date in the recent history of India has been of greater significance to Indian womanhood than the date of our political freedom, August 15, 1947. It was then that a vast and almost unlimited horizon opened up, offering women new rights, new responsibilities and new interests. But women's partial emancipation had commenced some decades earlier, when the impact of powerful reformist movements broke down some of their social, political and economic barriers, and women began to emerge, in an increasing measure, from their former world of seclusion and backwardness to one of equality and enlightenment.

At one stage of their progress, women entered, with wholehearted abandon, the struggle to liberate India from the shackles and indignities of foreign domination. In all the phases of that struggle, including long periods of imprisonment and even death, they worked side by side with their men.

¹The outline of this Chapter and the opening pages were prepared by Shrimati Hannah Sen. Following Mrs. Sen's untimely death, Shrimati Tara Ali Baig very graciously brought the Chapter to completion.

Their warm patriotism and their unabashed enthusiasm won for them the love and respect of the fellow countrymen

In these circumstances it was not at all surprising that Free India in appreciation of the part played so effectively by women readily recognized their claims to equality incorporating that principle first in the Objectives Resolution of 1947 and later in the new Constitution which was formally enforced on the 26th of January 1950

National Independence did indeed bring with it the value of a fresh and broadened outlook In its Chapter on Fundamental Rights the Constitution through clearly phrased articles (14 15 and 16) conferred on all citizens irrespective of sex caste or creed equality before the law equal protection of the laws safeguards against every form of discrimination and equality of opportunity in matters of public employment

This repeated underscoring of the right of women to complete equality had its happy repercussions and brought about manifold changes in their status accelerating their advance in all directions The individual and social gains of women have been many and they have been able to make rich contributions to the development of their people and their country Their place in public affairs today presents a picture of spectacular achievement It would be pertinent to mention here that in all movements

for progress and reform in India, there has been a close and active partnership between liberal-minded men and women, which has undoubtedly helped towards the smooth and successful development of the Women's Movement and the emancipation of women in many spheres

Throughout the course of the Women's Movement, the question of franchise was regarded as the crux of most problems affecting women, and as being fundamental to all social progress. Indian women, in their fight for the vote, were largely inspired and motivated by the attitude of thinking women in other parts of the world. The "open door" of election, the principle of "equality and no favour", as well as adult suffrage received their firm support, and they consistently resisted, as an organised group, all attempts to allot reserved seats to them in the legislatures and the municipal and local boards.

Their campaign for political reforms was intensified in 1917, when a deputation of women waited on Mr Edwin Montague, the then—Secretary of State for India in Great Britain, demanding votes for women. This request was repeated two years later before a Committee of the British Parliament. In the restricted franchise then introduced women were left out altogether. The view was held that "votes for women" was a matter of domestic concern and should be debated in the Indian legislatures.

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When Free India elected its Constituent Assembly to frame the Constitution of the Indian Republic, women were again accorded an honourable place. Out of a total membership of 308, there were 11 women members. A study of the debates of that august body will be highly revealing of the useful and active part played by women.

In 1952, when the first general elections were held on the basis of adult franchise, women, in numbers no less than men, exercised their new rights with eagerness and sound judgment. With new rights, there came also an increasing awareness of new responsibilities, and several women stood for election both to the two Houses of the Central Parliament and to the various State legislatures. On the eve of the second general elections, there were 43 women members in the Central Parliament—22 in the Lok Sabha and 21 in the Rajya Sabha—and 102 women members in the Legislative Assemblies of the States. Women have attained the high positions of Minister, Deputy Minister and Parliamentary Secretary. The most notable among this group is Rajkumari Amrit Kaur, who occupied the post of Minister for Health in the Central Government, from Independence until the current year.

Admittedly, however, the number of women in high office is still small in proportion to their

Vice Chancellor of a co educational university to journalists architects engineers secretaries clerks technicians saleswomen and receptionists

With nearly all careers having been thrown open to them the presence of women in government departments business houses and industrial firms has become common enough to go unremarked today The Government of India alone now employs over 20 000 women in various capacities The Ministry of Transport has more women than men in the tourist section and in the Army there are 62 women doctors of officers grade Women are also entering the open competitive examinations held for the Indian Administrative and Foreign Services and so far there are 7 women and 6 women respectively in these two services

Another index of the new trend and the changing economic outlook of women is supplied by the statistics of the Employment Exchanges of the country The number of women seeking their assistance has multiplied several times during the past few years from 1 500 in 1948 to 40 063 by January 1 1957

For women in the lower income groups several types of protective legislation have been introduced The Factories Act of 1948 limits the hours of work while the Mines Act of 1951 prohibits the employment of women underground in mines Other laws confer certain well recognized maternity benefits and

provide for better welfare facilities, improved sanitation, rest periods, maintenance of creches and necessary safeguards against the lifting of heavy weights and being engaged in dangerous operations

The Domestic Servants Bill, still under consideration, establishes provisions for an eight-hour working day, medical care, living quarters and a month's holiday on full pay

Still other economic measures have been devised to meet the needs of women in a changing society and to promote their economic emancipation. It is a recognized fact that women—even when economic pressure is heavy—are reluctant to leave their homes for full-time careers outside. The remedy, it is felt, lies in the promotion of cottage industries and the establishment of production centres where facilities will exist for part-time employment. Schemes to this end have been formulated by various Government departments and private agencies, and are in process of progressive implementation.

The Family Welfare Service, launched by the Central Ministry of Industries, is yet another venture in this field, and is steadily expanding its programmes, bringing with them a rich promise of part-time or whole time employment for thousands of needy women.

The Ministry of Community Development, with its innumerable and extensive projects of all-round rural development, is perhaps the most dynamic and revolutionary official machinery now engaged in

providing essential services and added opportunities of employment for both men and women. In the new pattern of village life that is emerging women have an important part to play in the medical, educational and social welfare aspects of new India and they are functioning effectively in many areas of the countryside. A vast army of required personnel for expanding projects is under training. As village level workers, women will not only enjoy the benefits of gainful employment but also form a very vital link between the rural community and the new life that is steadily taking shape and in so doing serve both themselves and the nation.

If social and economic changes have been vast in the decade since Independence, social legislation has not lagged behind. Serious inequalities with respect to women previously existed in Hindu society in particular from the evils of the dowry system to child marriage, polygamy and the absence of proper rights of divorce and inheritance. In these ten years most of the requisite legislation has been passed bringing the laws relating to women's rights to the point where a common civil law is not an impossible dream.

In a land as vast as India with her diversified people and her different customs and religious sanctions, a balanced codification of all laws has always presented immense difficulties. During the last few decades efforts to protect women against

exploitation and degrading practices, resulted in separate acts of legislation being passed to meet each known hardship. Gradually, however, appreciation of a unified code in preference to piecemeal legislation grew in strength, inspiring the formulation, ten years ago, of the Hindu Code Bill.

The last chapters in the social evolution of women have yet to be written, but the adoption by the Central Parliament of the main sections of the Hindu Code Bill has been an immense step forward and has brought some very welcome and vital changes in the status of women.

The first instalment of the Hindu Code Bill—the Hindu Marriage Act of 1955—enforced monogamy, outlawed polygamy and conferred equal rights of divorce on both men and women. The second instalment—the Hindu Succession Act—dealt with the most complicated branch of Hindu law, yet several far-reaching amendments were accepted which fundamentally affected women's rights of inheritance. Among women's gains under this Act, the most consequential was the extension of their "limited estate," known as *Stridhan*, to one of absolute control over their property, no matter how acquired. The second important change recognised the right of the daughter and her children to succeed equally with the son and his children to all the property of either parent.

The third and last sections of the Hindu Code Bill

on adoption and guardianship have also passed into law in the form of the Hindu Minority and Guardianship Act of 1956 and the Hindu Adoption and Maintenance Act of 1956. The clauses in their attempt to safeguard adequately the mother's right to be the natural guardian of her children and to have a say in the adoption of a child represent a significant departure from old attitudes and practices which is certainly very satisfying to women.

The ten years since India's Independence have shown progress that is hard to assess since changes are part of the growing vitality of the country and are so soon accepted that people tend to forget change has actually taken place. The modern woman's interests and the programme of the Women's Movement in India go far beyond the problems relating to women's rights. They are vitally concerned with other subjects equally momentous to the nation: the health of the people, the control of overpopulation, reducing infant and maternal mortality, care and protection of the sick and the indigent, the removal of social vice, welfare of the underprivileged and all those other reforms which truly help to establish a society based upon social justice and equal rights and opportunities for all. Much remains to be done and women are working steadily to this end. As long as our reach exceeds our grasp, the Women's Movement in India will continue as a live and active force.

